A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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NEW TIMES

FORECASTING EARTHQUAKES

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LUXEMBURG—A FORTRESS WITH OPEN GATES

1917–1987

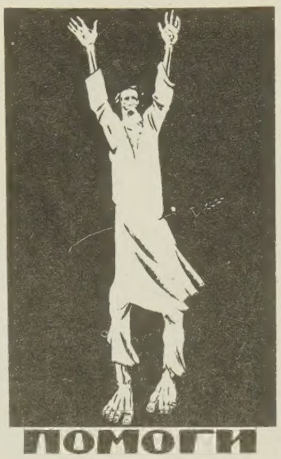
TIME AND PEOPLE

"These are dark days for the homeland of Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Mendeleyev, Pavlov, Mussorgsky, Glinka and other world-renowned people... I appeal to all honest people of Europe and America to hasten to the aid of the Russian people. Send them bread and medical aid." This message bearing the signature of the writer Maxim Gorky was telegraphed to the whole world in the summer of 1921. The young Soviet Republic was still grappling with the aftermath of the civil war and intervention when a new disaster struck: crop failure. The spectre of famine haunted the Volga region, the Urals area, the Caucasus, the Crimea and part of the Ukraine.

The country mustered all its strength to help the famine-stricken areas. A special government commission was formed, the children were evacuated from the disaster regions, and trainloads of grain, collected from all corners of the land, were rushed in the opposite direction. The republic's meagre gold reserves were used to buy grain abroad. But still the famine raged. It was then that the Soviet Republic appealed to men and women of good will throughout the world.

The governments of the Western countries which had formerly had no difficulty finding huge sums to fund the intervention and the White Guard armies, refused help to the starving. They hoped that the bony hand of hunger would do what the force of arms had failed to do—put an end to Soviet power.

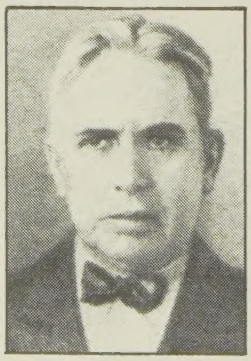
The working people of the world took a different view. Aid to Soviet Russia committees sprang up in Italy and Britain, the U.S. and Germany, Japan and France. With the pfennigs, francs and pennies donated by the working folk grain and medicines were bought and ships chartered to transport them to Russia.

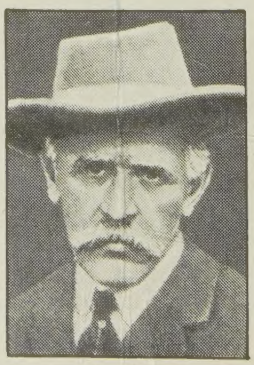


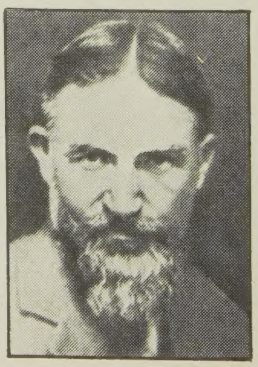
Progressive artists, writers and scientists, among them Bernard Shaw, Albert Einstein and Theodore Dreiser, joined the campaign. Anatole France donated his Nobel Peace Prize to the aid fund. The legendary polar explorer Fridtjof Nansen gave up for a time his dream of conquering the North Pole to devote himself to organizing help to the starving. Nansen succeeded in winning the support of a great many people in this undertaking, but not the League of Nations governments. Later he was to say in bitterness and anger that some transatlantic countries possessed such an abundance of corn that the farmers did not know what to do with it and it was used to fuel locomotives. Ships stood idle in the wharves of America and Europe for lack of cargoes, he said. And all this at a time when 30 million people in the Volga basin were dying of starvation and the politicians all over the world found different excuses to refuse help to Russia, declaring that Russia itself, its Bolshevist system were to blame for the famine.

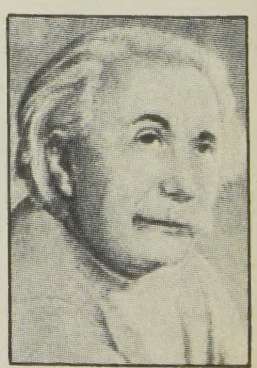
The international solidarity campaign helped our country to cope with the famine. And we shall never forget those who extended a helping hand to us in our hour of need. This was stressed at the 9th All-Russia Congress of Soviets held in December 1921. Among other things, that congress adopted the message of greetings to Fridtjof Nansen. "The Russian people," it read, "will cherish the memory of the great scientist, explorer and citizen Fridtjof Nansen who heroically blazed a trail through the eternal ice of the frozen North, but who proved powerless to overcome the boundless cruelty, greed and heartlessness of the ruling classes of the capitalist countries."

1921 posters by Dmitry Moor and Sergei Chekhonin, Anatole France, Theodore Dreiser, Fridtjof Nansen, Bernard Shaw, Albert Einstein. They helped Soviet Russia to conquer the famine.









A SOVIET WEEKLY
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NEW TIMES

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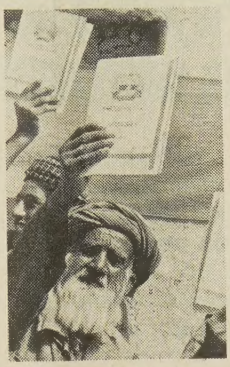
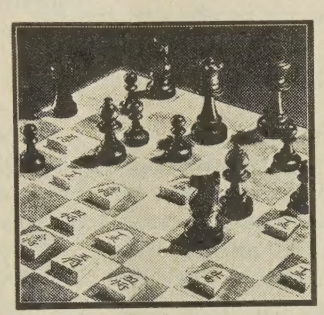


After the revolution, 330,000 Afghan peasants were granted land.



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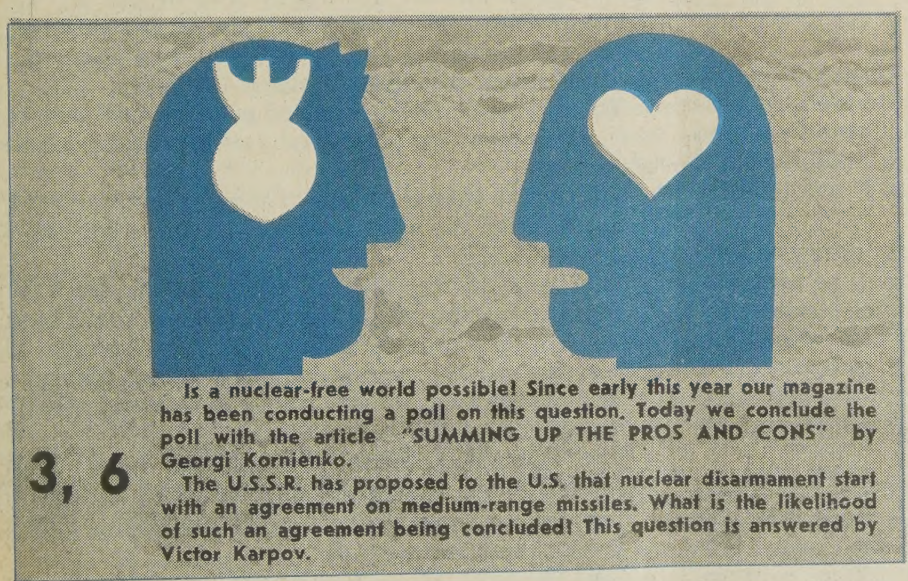

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Is a nuclear-free world possible! Since early this year our magazine has been conducting a poll on this question. Today we conclude the poll with the article "SUMMING UP THE PROS AND CONS" by Georgi Kornienko.

The U.S.S.R. has proposed to the U.S. that nuclear disarmament start with an agreement on medium-range missiles. What is the likelihood of such an agreement being concluded! This question is answered by Victor Karpov.

NEW TIMES

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THE YOUTH—A LEADING SPIRIT OF THE REFORM

From Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the 20th Congress of the Young Communist League

Never before, perhaps, have I been so eager to participate in a discussion as I am at this YCL congress today.

For the Party the stand you take is of immense political importance.

We want you to be actively and conscientiously involved in the reform. I shall even venture to say: do not take everything on trust. First understand everything, and then draw from this understanding the conclusions to go by in your life and work. Such a clear-cut and conscious stand is essential in solving the problems of restructuring.

●

It is now two years since we got down to restructuring in all spheres of life in our society.

Over this short period we have travelled a considerable distance historically.

A profound analysis of the situation in the country, severe criticism of negative factors and increased democratization initiated the process of morally purifying our society, emancipating people from everything that fettered their minds, and promoting more active social involvement for all.

At this juncture we have achieved the most important thing: the ideas of renovation and revolutionary change have got across to millions and won over the overwhelming majority of our people. There is every indication that the tone of our public life is being set by those who support the reform.

Once again the CPSU Central Committee is calling upon all to act. Action and action alone is the earnest of success at the present stage of the reform. What we need now is fewer loud words, and more of the actions that speak louder than words.

●

The "braking gear" that had formed did not function of its own accord. It was levered into action by certain people at Central Committee and government level, at ministries, in republics and regions. Such people are also to be found in work collectives and in the Komsomol.

The problem of fighting red tape deserves special emphasis. Your congress seems to be aware of its importance. Does our society have a guarantee that this evil will be overcome? Yes, it does. You and I know only too well how it is to be done. What is needed above all is openness, criticism, and the further development of our society's democratic principles.

This is not a temporary, utilitarian expedient, as certain people think. As regards those who are trying to capitalize on democracy with only their own selfish interests in mind, the best way to oppose them is, again, to promote openness, to have public opinion expose their egoism, demagogy and attempts to take personal advantage of democracy.

Should anyone try, in the new situation, to revive the negative trends and phenomena we condemned at the Party congress for all the nation to hear—and our denunciation of which met with the people's unqualified approval—their efforts must, I believe, be frustrated.

Our most urgent task is to carry the reform through, and resolutely expose those who would like to confine themselves to talking about the reform.

The stand of those who are trying to adapt to the reform and reduce it to empty talk cannot be justified or accepted. We must be on the alert.

●

As we see it, appeals and slogans alone will hardly mobilize the young to tackle the vital tasks we are faced with. Young people's enthusiasm must be fostered by active concern for them.

What do we mean by this?

First. It is necessary to provide every condition for the massive participation of young people in the process of renewing and democratizing society and help them master the political culture of socialism in practice.

You must acquire a good command of all the levers of people's power and breathe your youthful energy into the democratization of our society.

Second. We must see to it in earnest that the intellectual potential of our society is continuously renewed and enriched.

We must hold out for another two or three very difficult years during which we shall have to tackle major problems on the march and create all the prerequisites—political, economic, organizational, legal, psychological and moral—for restructuring. And we must advance all along the line.

Third. The complex knot of problems related to the social development of the youth demands close attention.

We realize that the state of social health and the social tone of the youth depend on the solution of these problems.

The socialist way of life knows of only one kind of hierarchy—the hierarchy of personal merit based on ability, knowledge, experience, strength of character and the pursuit of lofty social ideals.

The Komsomol must uphold the social confidence of the youth.

The Komsomol must be intolerant of all that runs counter to the values and ideals of socialism.

Today the Komsomol must be the young guard of the restructuring drive.

April 16

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?

AND WHAT IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY?

Today we conclude our international discussion which has drawn 53 participants—well-known statesmen, politicians, public figures, writers and scientists. The editors appreciate their contributions.

Summing up the pros and cons

GEORGI KORNIENKO

Is a nuclear-free world possible? For the answer to this question of decisive importance for the future of mankind to be sufficiently conclusive, it is necessary to give considered thought to the different aspects of the issue, which are clearly discernible in the contributions to the opinion poll carried in New Times Nos. 1-7, 9, 10, 12-16 for 1987.

I.

To begin with, **is there any point** in striving for a nuclear-free world? Is it desirable? Among those who expressed their opinion on this score in New Times, there were some (true, not very many, though in reality there are far more) who do not think the obvious answer to that question is a positive one. More, they seek to prove the very opposite, and, in my opinion, it would be a mistake to dismiss their arguments as ineffective. On the contrary, whether a nuclear-free world is possible or not depends in large measure on how successfully these arguments are refuted, how effectively their fallacy is exposed for all to see.

What arguments do the opponents of a nuclear-free world advance?

The one most frequently used by the votaries of nuclear weapons, and which they evidently consider "incontrovertible," is that it is precisely thanks to the existence of nuclear weapons that there have been no "major wars" in the world for over forty years, whereas conventional weapons did not prevent two world wars from breaking out. This, incidentally, was the thesis propounded by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during her visit to Moscow.

However, no one has been able to prove—nor is it possible to prove—that there has been no third world war due to the existence of nuclear weapons and that without them war would surely have broken out. It would be far more logical to assume that if the United States had not developed the atom bomb, which turned some heads in Washington and led to other powers acquiring nuclear weapons, there would have been a better chance of the U.N. Charter's objective of creating a system of universal security being achieved. Peace today would be much more secure. In any case, by no laws of logic can any causal connection be found between the existence of nuclear weapons and the fact that more time has passed since World War II than elapsed between the first and second world wars.

Secondly, recognition of the fact that conventional armaments did not prevent the outbreak of two world wars merely confirms that the buildup of any type of arms leads not to deterrence but to the unleashing of war. It is in place here to recall the following instances from history. When Alfred Nobel invented dynamite he said that its use as a weapon would terrify humanity to such an extent that there would be no more wars. Richard Jordan Gatling, the inventor of the forerunner of the modern machine gun, took the same view of his creation. And the Wright brothers also believed that the aeroplane would make war impossible. None of these predictions, as we know, came true, nor could they have. The existence of weapons, however deadly, cannot in itself prevent war. Only man can and should do this.

Thirdly—and this is most important. Leaving aside the dispute about whether a third world war would have occurred had there been no nuclear weapons, there is no guarantee that it will not occur in the future and that these weapons will not be used. The NATO official doctrine, as is known, does not exclude the use of nuclear weapons. And the most the theoreticians of "nuclear deterrence" (like Karl Kaiser, cited in New Times) promise us is that things are **unlikely** to reach the point where nuclear weapons will be used, that this is **almost** inconceivable. But who can measure the dimensions of the "unlikely" and the "almost"? Can the human mind reconcile itself to any, even the slightest (and in reality it is anything but slight) possibility of the self-destruction of mankind?

Another argument the opponents of a nuclear-free world advance as a last resort is that it is impossible to eliminate nuclear weapons because the relevant knowledge and production technology will remain and consequently these weapons may reappear in the future. This contention was advanced in the New Times opinion poll by Karl Bildt. Mrs Thatcher, too, had recourse to it in her interview to Soviet newsmen.

The illogicality of such reasoning is evident if only from the fact that in analogous instances—as applied to bacteriological and chemical weapons—this has not prevented the conclusion of an international convention outlawing bacteriological weapons, including the destruction of their stockpiles, and the drafting at the present time of a similar convention on chemical weapons.

In a word, both arguments—about the beneficial, stabilizing role of nuclear weapons and about the impossibility in principle of eliminating them—do not hold water.

II.

Thus, a non-nuclear world is both necessary and, in principle, possible. But **can it be achieved in practice** and how is this to be done?

A realistic and perfectly concrete answer to this question was given by

CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in his statement of January 15, 1986.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has always stood for the prohibition and eventual total elimination of nuclear weapons, for ridding the world altogether of such weapons. Its first proposal to this effect was submitted to the United Nations as far back as 1946.

Now, however, it submitted for the first time a detailed stage-by-stage programme for ridding humanity of nuclear weapons not in the indefinite future but within a historically brief space of time —by the end of the century. The character and dimensions of the concrete measures to be taken at every stage, their combination and application first to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. and then to other nuclear powers— everything in this programme is projected at ruling out any damage to anyone's security at any moment and at the same time strengthening universal security at every step.

The programme is practicable also because it tackles the problem of eliminating nuclear weapons in the context of the other factors that make for military-strategic equivalence.

On the one hand, for objective reasons the elimination of nuclear weapons is made conditional on preventing the development and deployment of new category of armaments—space weapons.

On the other hand, the Soviet programme of January 15, 1986, envisages the abolition, besides nuclear weapons, of another mass destruction weapon now in existence—the chemical, as well as the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces. Soon afterwards, detailed proposals were advanced as regards both of these areas. Hence there are no grounds whatsoever for the assertion that removal of nuclear weapons would leave the West weaker than the East in other spheres.

An integral part of all the latest Soviet proposals on arms limitation and disarmament is a far-reaching approach to the question of verifying observance of agreements, including, where necessary, on-the-spot inspection. Thus, here too there are no insoluble problems, provided of course one is guided by the interests of the matter in hand, and the question of verification is not carried to the absurd with the specific object of blocking agreement.

For all that, the difficulties involved in drawing up and giving effect to such radical measures as the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and the steps to this objective should not be underestimated. But it is equally clear that given the political will all this is **objectively** possible.

III.

We now come to what in my view is the most difficult part of the answer to the question whether a nuclear-free world is possible. Can the objective possibility be realized; in other words, can the resistance of those who are deliberately impeding advance towards such a world be overcome?

The opposition is powerful. It includes the monopolies which are interested in the continued piling up of armaments as an inexhaustible source of enormous profits, the reactionary political circles who still dream of social revenge, and militarists of all hues. "These circles," Mikhail Gorbachev said, "have at their disposal the political power, the economic levers and the powerful mass media. Their strength should not be overestimated but neither should it be underestimated. By all the signs, the struggle will be a difficult one."

Nevertheless, there are grounds to look to the future with optimism, since each day brings evidence that the idea of a nuclear-free world is winning more and more supporters, and not just supporters but active champions. Most of the views expressed in the New Times opinion poll bear witness to this.

A decisive role in bringing the idea of a nuclear-free world home to the masses in the full sense of the word was unquestionably played by Reykjavik.

True, no final agreements were reached there because President Reagan elevated his beloved SDI to the status of a "sacred cow."

But when they learned of what the sides in Reykjavik had **almost agreed upon**, people for the first time saw that there was a real possibility of preventing the world from drifting over the brink of the nuclear abyss, of reversing the trend of developments and of ridding the world altogether of nuclear weapons in the foreseeable future.

Heinz Fischer:

FIVE WAYS TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION

Heinz Fischer is the vice-chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria and the chairman of the SPA's faction in the parliament.

We know from history that all the weapons ever developed have always been put to use. Hence, no stone should be left unturned to bring it home to every human being that even the most outlandish weapon can be brought into play under a certain set of circumstances. No responsible person can possibly help arriving at the conclusion that arms stockpiles must be scrapped or rendered unusable.

Though this is an uphill job we must have a stab at it. This is a historic challenge today, and we must meet it for the sake of our children and the coming generations.

A legitimate question arises: how are we to solve this enormous problem? I'd suggest five ways.

First, to make every effort to prevent further proliferation of nuclear weapons. The more countries go nuclear, the harder it will be to eliminate nuclear arms.

Second, to rule out a further buildup of the existing nuclear arms stockpiles.

Third, to prevent arms disbalance which might tempt one nuclear power to threat another without fear of retaliation. The "balance of fear" must never be replaced by "an absence of the balance of fear," although under no circumstances should the former be taken for granted either.

Fourth, to pool our efforts in the field of politics aimed chiefly at removing the causes of conflicts.

Fifth, to cut the existing nuclear arsenals as the first step towards the non-use, non-production, non-stockpiling and, finally, complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

There is no denying that to accomplish all this in a brief space of time is very difficult for want of many requisite preconditions. A nuclear-free world remains only a far-off dream so far, but what life will be like in the 21st century depends on whether this dream comes true. There is ample evidence on record that what may seem a pie in the sky today becomes a reality the day after tomorrow. We should therefore combine realism and optimism in judg-

Shortly before Reykjavik, when the Soviet Union put forward its programme for the abolition of nuclear weapons by the end of the century, people often said: "That would be fine, but is it feasible?" Now people have come to believe in the possibility of a nuclear-free world, however difficult the road to it might be. And, as we know, faith in the feasibility of an idea is a powerful force. A qualitatively new situation has emerged: once Reykjavik succeeded in slightly opening the door to a nuclear-free world, people will not allow it to be closed tight again.

This new situation was reflected also in the work of the Moscow forum For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind, a gathering that had no precedent as regards the scale, the composition of participants or the results of its deliberations.

IV.

The prerequisites for going forward along the road to a nuclear-free world can materialize only in concrete actions.

The key problem here is one the solution of which is of crucial importance if the process of nuclear disarmament is to be started and carried through to the end.

What must be ruled out is a situation in which parallel with the reduction of nuclear arms there would be a buildup of new and no less deadly types of armaments—space weapons. In other words, the reference is to the American SDI programme which, as Mikhail Gorbachev said after Reykjavik, "blocked the road to the ending of the arms race, to the elimination of nuclear weapons, and became the main obstacle to a nuclear-free world."

To remove this obstacle one thing is needed: the U.S.A., like the U.S.S.R., should adhere strictly to the treaty of unlimited duration, on the limitation of anti-ballistic missiles systems signed in 1972, one of whose provisions unequivocally bans the development, testing and deployment of space-based ABM systems and components.

The fundamental significance of the ABM treaty consists in its being the embodiment of the statesmanship and political courage of men who, despite traditional concepts of defence, were able to understand and to admit openly to their own people and the whole world that in this nuclear missile age the only rational, and the best possible means of protection against nuclear weapons—pending their elimination as such—is mutual rejection of defensive measures, i.e., abstention from the development of technical anti-missile defence systems.

From this standpoint the ABM treaty is in effect one of the first manifestations and, we may say, one of the first intimations of that new thinking the need for which in international affairs we stress today. And it would be inexcusable to allow this first shoot to perish.

Realizing that direct renunciation of the ABM treaty would be too unpopular and that the U.S. Congress would not sanction it, the present American administration is trying to achieve the same objective—the scuttling of the treaty—by a "broad interpretation" of it, which admits of the development and testing of space ABM devices.

The utter fallacy of such an interpretation which emasculates the substance of the treaty was convincingly demonstrated, among others, by U.S. Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

The attempts to undermine the ABM treaty have been rebuffed also by **six** of Caspar Weinberger's predecessors in the post of secretary of defence.

Those who come out in defence of the ABM treaty are not necessarily supporters of a nuclear-free world. But they realize that if this treaty goes by the board, no moves towards reducing nuclear armaments will be possible. On the contrary, the arms race will intensify.

All the more important, then, is it that all those who favour a nuclear-free world should fully realize the key importance of the ABM treaty, the need to uphold it, so that the dream of a world without nuclear weapons should not remain just a dream.

* * *

Summing up, it may be definitely said that the answer to the question of whether a nuclear-free world is possible or not is positive on both the theoretical and practical planes.

However, for that possibility to become the reality, ever greater effort is needed to overcome the resistance of those who want to go on balancing on the brink of nuclear catastrophe. ■

ing whether a nuclear-free world is possible.

In recent months the Soviet Union has been putting forward increasingly far-reaching disarmament proposals. What was looked upon as a limit yesterday is no longer a limit today. Calling Mikhail Gorbachev's initiatives merely positive would be an understatement; they are very positive. I can say without a moment's hesitation that the recent steps of the Soviet Union are the result of a very responsible approach and new thinking.

Apart from many Socialists and Social Democrats, my stand on this issue, I believe, is shared by people holding other political views. We all expect the United States to come up with a balanced and thoroughly thought-out response to the Soviet proposals. Moscow's preparedness to think in new terms demands that Washington should reassess the situation and display a greater sense of responsibility. ■

Tomas Borge:
SOLIDARITY WITH HUMANKIND

Tomas Borge is a member of the national directorate of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior.

I would put the question in the following terms: can common sense prevail over recklessness? Yes, it can. Moreover, a nuclear-free world is the only reasonable alternative. In the modern world the basic factors for international stability exist. Resigning ourselves to the inevitability of a nuclear apocalypse would be tantamount to admitting defeat and taking refuge in metaphysics.

As we wonder whether a nuclear-free world is possible, we ask ourselves the question: can we have a new world in which the achievements of science and technology would benefit man rather than threaten him with destruction? We certainly can, and we must call on all those who care to listen to take practical steps towards reliable worldwide security.

The hallmark of Nicaragua's foreign policy is anti-imperialism: we reject nuclear war outright. We favour the peaceful, political settlement of conflicts. We are categorically opposed to blackmail and equivocation, which could mean an end to the human race. We favour unlimited solidarity within mankind. These principles make us one with the forces that seek to preserve their dignity and share our hopes. We shall join efforts with them until the threat of a nuclear holocaust is eliminated. ■

Formula for success—Europe without missiles

Immediately after the visit of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to Moscow, New Times reporter Nikita Zholkver talked to Victor Karpov, chief of the Foreign Ministry's department for arms limitation and disarmament. The following is the transcript of the interview.

The final press conference of the U.S. Secretary of State caused many to take a hopeful view. Although controversial issues clearly remain, changes for the better would appear to outweigh them. Or are you of a different opinion?

I would not say that. I think that in any case it may be said that there is hope. Hope for the conclusion of an agreement with the U.S. on a question of great importance not only for our bilateral relations, but also for universal security, for removing the threat of nuclear war.

Our approach is this: whatever the complications in our relations, whatever the problems, often artificially created by the American side—like the recent charges of spying on the U.S. embassy—this should not overshadow the main thing—the need to search for solutions in matters connected with nuclear arms in space, ending nuclear tests, and reducing the armed forces and armaments in Europe.

Here some headway has been made. But I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the credit for this goes primarily to the Soviet Union, although the Secretary of State wished to create the impression that it was thanks to his visit to Moscow. What was achieved during the talks George Shultz had with Mikhail Gorbachev, Nikolai Ryzhkov and Eduard Shevardnadze reflects the efforts made by the Soviet side to place the negotiations on a practical footing. And above all, in a sphere which, as Reykjavik showed, is the most promising, namely, that of medium-range missiles in Europe.

We still stand by the Reykjavik formula. The U.S. also agrees that this formula should be the basis of a future agreement. However, of late the U.S. has been laying emphasis on the question of shorter-range missiles—from 500 to 1,000 kilometres—being settled simultaneously with that of medium-range missiles. We have taken a major step towards meeting that position: if the question of operational-tactical missiles could in any way impede agreement on medium-range missiles, we are ready to remove that obstacle by doing away with our operational-tactical missiles in Europe, unilaterally and in a comparatively brief and clearly specified time. It would be a good thing if the U.S. Secretary of State gave an equally clear-cut explanation of our position to the NATO allies of the United States whom he went to meet straight from Moscow.

Judging by the initial reports from Brussels, George Shultz gave the NATO Council a somewhat vague account of his talks in Moscow. And Washington's West European partners too displayed no particular enthusiasm. What else is there to prevent an early achievement of agreement on medium-range missiles in linkage with operational-tactical missiles?

It seems to me that objectively there are no obstacles to agreement. Unless, of course, they are artificially created. The basic thesis of the Americans before Shultz went to Moscow was this: the Russians, it was contended, have the advantage in operational-tactical missiles. And until that advantage is eliminated by a buildup of these missiles by the United States, there can be no agreement on medium-range missiles. Because supposedly the Soviet Union alone would gain by it. Now that dubious argument has lost all meaning.

The other day Volker Rühe, CDU/CSU deputy floor leader in the West German Bundestag, known to New Times readers for his contributions to our magazine, wrote in the newspaper Hamburger Anzeiger that "the Soviet Union has a tenfold superiority over the West as regards missiles with a range from 150 to 1,000 kilometres."

The question of missiles with a range of less than 500 km. has little to do with what was actually discussed in the talks between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Why was this done? It is one of two things—either it is just another trial balloon to see whether the talks could be hampered by raising this angle, or else the author of the article simply did not know what he was writing about.

The problem of tactical missiles with a range of up to 500 kilometres also figures in the Soviet proposals. Mikhail Gorbachev said quite plainly that the U.S.S.R. is prepared to do away with them. The collective proposals advanced by the Warsaw Treaty countries on this score were formulated as far back as June last year in the Budapest appeal thus: tactical nuclear weapons would be reduced in step with the disbandment of the army formations equipped with such missiles. As Mikhail Gorbachev said, we now are prepared to go still further—towards the complete liquidation of weapons of this class. And so Rühe's sally clearly misses the mark.

It seems to me that what adds to the confusion of people not particularly well versed in military technology is the diversity of designations given to the various categories of missiles—medium-range, shorter-range, intermediate-range, operational-tactical and regional. Could you perhaps clarify the classifications—both Soviet and American?

It is a matter of difference of approach. In our terminology there are intercontinental strategic missiles with a range of 5,500 kilometres and more, medium-range missiles from 1,000 up to 5,500 kilometres, operational-tactical—from 500 to 1,000 kilometres, and tactical missiles with a range of less than 500 kilometres.

In NATO terminology there are intercontinental ballistic missiles—this definition coincides with our own, but then come the longer-range intermediate missiles (1,800-5,500 km.), and shorter-range intermediate missiles (1,800-500 km.). Missiles with a range of less than 500 kilometres are called tactical missiles — here, too, the definitions coincide.

Could the differences in classification not be an obstacle to agreement?

Why should they be? After all, there is the perfectly concrete criterion of range. I will say this—given the desire to reach agreement, terminological discrepancies should not be an obstacle.

Judging by statements made by U.S. leaders, the United States would be interested in the complete liquidation of medium-range missiles. Why does the Soviet Union insist on both sides retaining 100 warheads each?

Because we cannot but take into account the fact that the United States has nuclear weapons in the Asian-Pacific

region. It has there hundreds, I repeat, hundreds of delivery means for nuclear weapons—missiles and aircraft. Moreover, some of them are located in direct proximity to the territory of the Soviet Union. For instance, a base for F-16 aircraft—those up-to-date means of delivery of nuclear weapons—has been set up and is being expanded at Misawa, on Honshu Island.

In South Korea the U.S. has begun deploying tactical nuclear weapons—so far, the Lance missile with a range of 130 kilometres. But there is no guarantee that they will not be replaced by longer-range missiles. Clearly, we must have a potential that would serve as a counterweight. If the United States is ready to talk about a mutual reduction and the elimination of these potentials we shall not object.

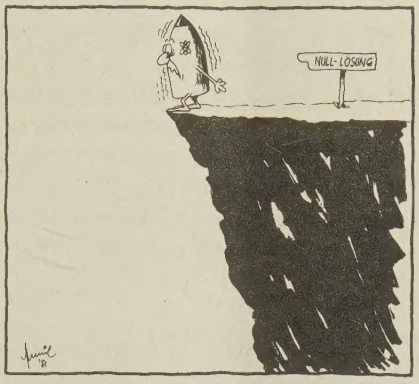
It looks as if we are giving the United States a "present" by allowing it to have 100 warheads on its territory. After all, the hundred in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R., as you say, are not a counterweight to them.

Let me explain. We say—and this must be an indispensable condition of an agreement—that the warheads on the medium-range missiles the U.S. will retain on its territory must not be able to reach the territory of the Soviet Union. We categorically insist on this condition being observed. And for this reason. At the present time there are no medium-range missiles in the U.S. capable of reaching Soviet territory. Just as we have no medium-range missiles capable of reaching U.S. territory.

If, after we reduce our medium-range missiles in the Asian part of our country, the United States should simultaneously deploy 100 warheads capable of reaching our territory, the agreement aimed at scaling down the nuclear confrontation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. would, on the contrary, heighten that confrontation. We hold that this would not accord with the Soviet Union's security interests.

To return to Europe, and in particular to the position of Britain and France. The public pronouncements of official spokesmen of these two nuclear powers reveal a clearly negative attitude to the prospect of a nuclear-free Europe, an unwillingness to include the British and French nuclear forces in the negotiating process. But, after all, one cannot close one's eyes indefinitely not only to the existence of these potentials but to the fact that they are being built up.

True. When we took the step that opens the way to the elimination of Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe we were taking a certain risk. But this does not mean that our proposals overlook the existence of the French and British nuclear potentials. Certainly not. We believe that the elimination of the Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe should be the first step towards the elimination of all nuclear weapons in that continent. And of course both Britain and France should join in this process. In the programme for nuclear disarmament put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986, this is envisaged as the second stage—after the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have carried out a 50 per cent reduction of their nuclear arsenals.



The road sign says: "Zero option."
Cartoon from Frankfurter Rundschau (F.R.G.)

In the course of the talks George Shultz had in Moscow the problem of SDI was touched upon. In this connection there is talk about some change in the Soviet position with regard to the "star wars" programme. What is new in Moscow's approach to this question?

Essentially, it is a further development of the position of which we spoke earlier. In Reykjavik, for instance. The substance remains unchanged: the Soviet Union favours strict and complete observance of the ABM treaty. U.S. officials have come out with a new interpretation of the treaty (the so-called "broad" interpretation), for which, incidentally, there is no justification whatever, either in the text of the treaty itself or in the agreed statements appended to it, or in the history of the negotiations themselves.

Since October 1985, when the U.S. first began to speak of the "broad" interpretation, a certain difference of opinion as regards the understanding of the treaty has emerged. We say to the United States: let us remove all differences as regards the limits that must not be overstepped in research, development and testing of the means of anti-missile defence. To this end let our experts determine what, in order not to violate the ABM treaty, must not be placed in outer space for testing or deployment purposes.

The Americans either evade the issue or categorically object to any such suggestion. This is understandable. It does not suit their purpose, for any discussion of the limits of the permissible raises doubts as to the validity of their "broad" interpretation of the treaty. We understand this. But if there is to be an identical, mutually-shared and indeed the only acceptable interpretation of the treaty, the procedure we propose for agreeing the positions of the two sides is indispensable.

The Americans complained that we did not make it clear what we meant by restricting things to "laboratory limits." We have explained now that what is meant is not only research institutes with doors bearing the sign "Laboratory," but also proving grounds and factory testing facilities where such tests are carried out. And what, above all, must be excluded is violation of Article 5 of the treaty, which bans the development, testing and deployment of space-based ABM systems or components. For this it is very important to determine what devices must not be placed in outer space for testing or deployment purposes.

What tests are not prohibited by the treaty? What will be tried out on these proving grounds?

ABM components may be tested, provided they are intended for replacements permitted by the treaty. We are allowed to have 100 anti-missile missiles, 100 launchers and a certain number of radar stations around Moscow. Testing of a device, even if it is not an exact copy of what we already have, but let us say a laser device intended to replace a launcher or an anti-missile missile, is permitted. But only in a stationary, on-the-ground version. This the treaty does not forbid.

Does this not make it possible to test components of a future ABM space system without putting them into orbit?

Theoretically, an anti-missile missile can be deployed in outer space. For this it is necessary to orbit a satellite platform and mount anti-missile missiles on it. This can be done even without space tests. Lasers can also be tested in an artificial vacuum on the ground or in the atmosphere with a certain adjustment. There are no restrictions on this kind of testing.

The trouble is, however, that it is necessary to make the laser part of the space-based ABM system, to develop the technology of putting it in orbit, and ensure it the necessary power supply. But all this is not simple. In order to have a guarantee that the laser system for combating ballistic missiles

will function in outer space, it has to be tested in space.

The next round of the Soviet-American negotiations begins in Geneva on April 23. Of course, there is no point in anticipating events and making optimistic predictions. But what does Moscow expect of the coming round?

The working group dealing with medium-range missiles resumes discussions on April 23. It will continue to work on the drafting of a joint text of a treaty on the elimination of the Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe and corresponding limitations in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. and in the territory of the United States. We are working on a compromise draft taking into account the U.S. position and offering solutions on questions which have given rise to disagreement and different interpretations. We hope that this draft will open the way to completing the work on the treaty.

Could there be a new summit meeting this year?

As a matter of fact, we are proposing such a meeting. But it must be productive. Specifically, we propose that a draft of a treaty on medium-range missiles be prepared for the summit, at which it would be signed, and that at the same time a document be drawn up that would contain if not the full texts of agreements on space and on offensive strategic arms, then at least the groundwork for such agreements.

We have already handed the Americans a draft of the key provisions of these agreements. It provides for fully guaranteed observance of the ABM treaty for a period of ten years, without giving the sides the right to invoke Article 15 under which withdrawal from the treaty is allowed in extraordinary circumstances. The draft also contains the formula of a 50 per cent reduction in strategic arms which is based fully on the Reykjavik formula. And, lastly, the draft includes the proposal to begin full-scale talks on ending nuclear tests. If our proposals are approved by the American side they could determine the content and outcome of a meeting at summit level. In that case the road to Washington will be open. ■

PANORAMA

MIDDLE EAST

Towards unity

● A SESSION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL (PARLIAMENT) OF PALESTINE OPENED IN ALGIERS ON APRIL 20.

The 340 delegates represent leading Palestine organizations, as well as trade unions, women's and youth movements. The session was preceded by a meeting of the leaders of the eight main PLO organizations, who did some serious work to eliminate the differences that have divided the Palestine resistance movement in recent years. PLO chairman Yasser Arafat said afterwards that the Amman agreement concluded with Jordan in 1985 had been annulled. The agreement came in for severe criticism in the PLO ranks as an obstacle to the creation of an independent Palestinian state. Other important accords have been reached to remove differences and restore unity within the PLO.

The political basis for this was provided by the Tripoli declaration on restoring the unity of the Palestine Liberation Organization adopted at a meeting of the leaders and representatives of Palestine organizations in March. That document stressed the need to restore the unity of the PLO on an anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist basis, and reaffirmed commitment to the political programme aimed at securing the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination and the creation of an independent state.

The Tripoli meeting backed proposals for an international conference to settle the Middle East conflict. It stressed that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and should therefore take part in that conference as an equal member. The declaration rejects defeatist plans such as the Camp David agreements and the notorious Reagan plan. It points to the need for the further strengthening of cooperation with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, and with non-aligned states.

Serious differences within the PLO that brought it to the brink of a split arose shortly after Palestine resistance fighters were withdrawn from Beirut in 1982. The events led to pessimism in some sections of the Palestinian bourgeoisie about the prospects of further struggle and fostered collaborationist tendencies which affected the administrative and military setups of the PLO.

At the same time the U.S. and Israel, strategic allies against the Arab cause, saw this as a chance for a "solution" of the Palestine problem either by imposing "administrative autonomy" on the Palestinians living in the occupied territories or by Israel making a deal with one of its Arab neighbours on the joint administration of these territories. Tel Aviv tried to foist its terms of "settlement" through mass terror and the killing of PLO activists.

This caused an upsurge of protest on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip.

The cohesion of the PLO's ranks proved to be unshaken. In vain did Tel Aviv and its allies try to exploit the situation. The essence of the Palestine problem, which is central to the Arab-Israeli conflict, has not changed. The restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people remains the principal precondition for normalizing the situation in the Middle East.

It is significant that while differences remained in the PLO ranks there was a growing understanding in the international community that the surest way towards a Middle East settlement is an international conference involving all the parties concerned, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Such a conference can only be successful if the split between the Arab countries is healed and PLO unity restored.

The recent meeting of Palestinian leaders in Algiers and the session of the National Council of Palestine, which had not met since 1985 because of internal discord, show that the unity is being restored. The opening meeting expressed gratitude to Algeria, the Soviet Union and Libya for their efforts to help restore PLO unity. The National Council is to discuss and approve a political programme that had been worked out on the eve of the session by the leaders of the eight major Palestine organizations.

ALEXANDER KAPRALOV

ARGENTINA

Mutiny defused

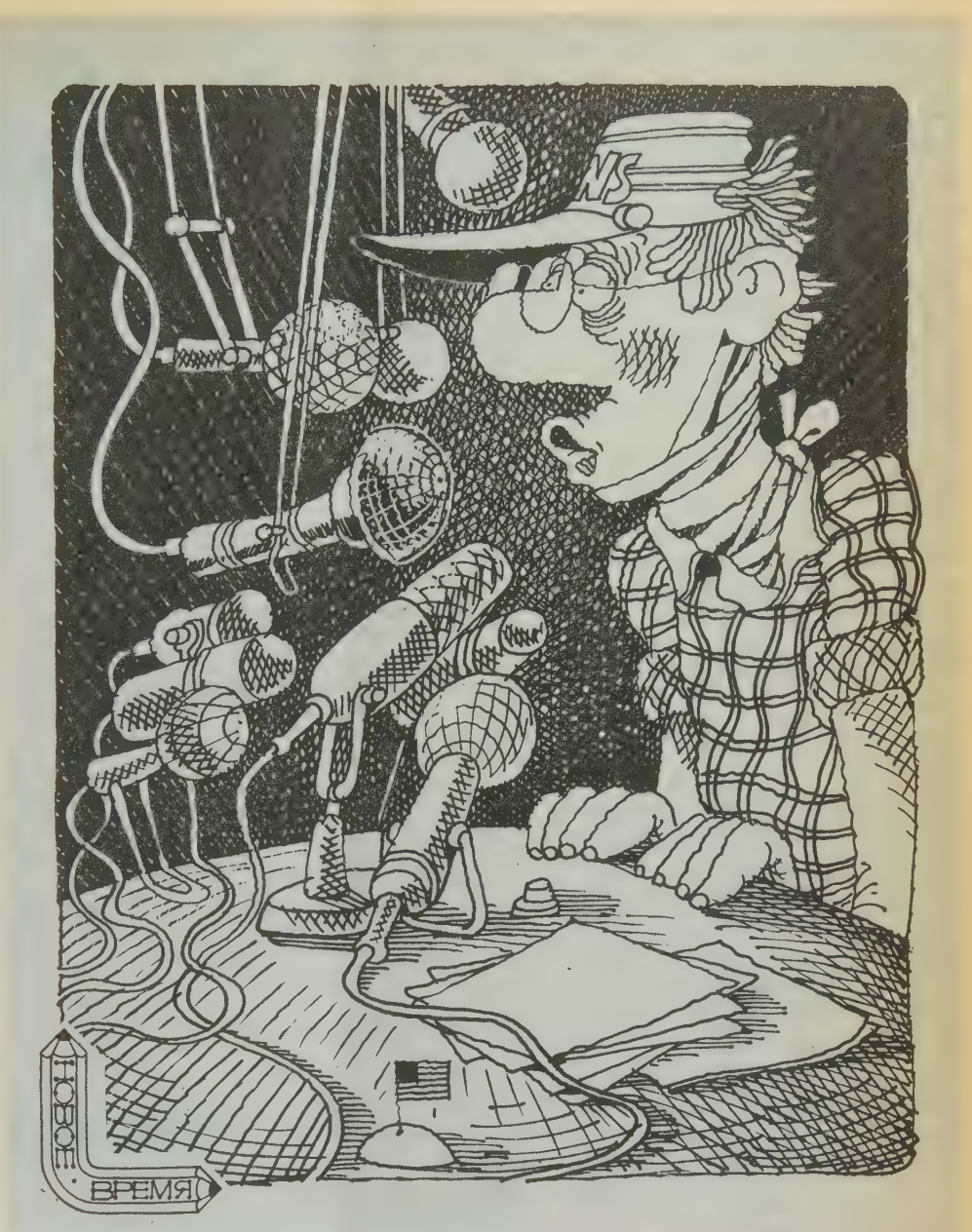
● IN MID-APRIL A MUTINY FLARED UP IN ARGENTINA.

A group of officers led by Lieutenant Colonel Aldo Rico seized an infantry school in Campo de Mayo cantonment, 70 kilometres from Buenos Aires and held it for four days. Simultaneously, the 14th airborne regiment stationed in Cordoba in the north of the country refused to obey the orders of the civilian authorities. The mutineers demanded the release of servicemen accused of crimes perpetrated under the dictatorship and the resignation of the Chief of Staff, General Hector Rios Erenu, known for his loyalty to the constitution. The government got the mutineers to surrender.

To understand the reason for what may seem a surprising sortie by the military we should go back almost four years. The general election in October 1983 was won by the Radical Civil Union party, and its leader Raul Alfonsin became the country's president, heading the administration that took over from the military government installed following the coup of March 1976. The military had left the legacy of a run-down economy, crumbling political institutions and, according to the official figure, about 9,000 "disappeared." (Public organizations put it at around 30,000.)

In December 1983 Raul Alfonsin issued a decree bringing high-ranking generals and admirals to trial. The hearings began in April 1985 and lasted several months.

Hundreds of eyewitnesses passed before the judges—those who had themselves been tortured and miraculously survived, and relatives and friends of the "disappeared." The witnesses, among whom were servicemen who took part in reprisals, gave horrific accounts of innocent people being taken to clandestine concentration camps and subjected to systematic torture for weeks on end to extract "confessions." They told of pregnant women being tortured, girls being raped, and prisoners thrown from planes into the River Plate or buried alive by bulldozers.



"Sorry, listeners, I've shouted myself hoarse discussing their glasnost, so I'll talk about our own problems in a whisper."

Cartoon by V. Arsenyev

No wonder the people of Argentina welcomed the verdicts passed in late 1985: former president, Lieutenant-General Jorge Rafael Videla and former naval commander, Admiral Emilio Eduardo Massera were given life sentences, another former president, Lieutenant-General Roberto Eduardo Viola, was sentenced to 17 years, Admiral Lambruchini to 8 years, and former Air Force commander, General Orlando Agosti, to 4 and a half years.

The military established a regime of "secret, brutal, and cowardly state terrorism," the verdict states. They justified their crimes by invoking the "doctrine of national security" prompted by Washington. Under that doctrine the Latin American countries need armed forces, not to repel external aggression but to combat "the enemy within," i.e., various progressive organizations.

Admittedly, this just sentence met with displeasure in some quarters. Even during

the trial local reactionaries, supported from abroad, instigated a wave of violence. Extremists planted bombs (one went off in the army headquarters) and sent threatening letters to prominent political figures. After the trial the right stepped up its subversive campaign, bringing tension to such a pitch that the government was forced to impose a two-month state of siege.

In an attempt to normalize the situation, the government passed a law ending prosecution of the military after February 22, 1987, unless court proceedings had been instituted prior to that date. The government acted on the assumption that the three years since the decree of 1983 was ample time to try all who deserved punishment. The new law does not, of course, apply to the servicemen under investigation. Nevertheless, these servicemen defied the summons to court. In response, the authorities served warrants on them. In late February 1987 six admirals and several high-ranking naval and police officers were arrested followed by another group of officers in March. Right-wing elements in the armed forces tried to stage a mutiny in response.

The mutiny failed largely because the government enjoyed the support of the country's armed forces, all the political parties, and the General Confederation of Labour. Even so, the military's anti-government sortie shows how fragile the constitutional regime in Argentina is and makes it clear that there are many people who would like to see a return to the dark past.

ANATOLY MEDVEDENKO

CENTRAL AMERICA

Shifting the blame

Look at this map from the Nicaraguan magazine Soberania. The little Gulf of Fonseca in the Pacific washes the shores of three Central American countries: El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua.

The gulf is frequently mentioned in allegations by the U.S. administration that the Sandinistas are "exporting revolution" to neighbouring countries. Previous American presidents had already claimed that Cuba and other communist countries were secretly supplying arms to Salvadoran rebels preparing for an invasion in Central America. Allegedly they got the arms across the Gulf of Fonseca. Crossing the small gulf and unloading arms on the Salvadoran coast is not too difficult.

But the coastal waters are heavily patrolled by Salvadoran and Honduran naval vessels. The Honduran Tigre Island, which dominates the gulf, has been turned into a military base with a radar station that coordinates flights over the gulf as well as over El Salvador and Honduras.

American frigates and destroyers enter the gulf, while

American reconnaissance planes based in the Panama Canal Zone and Honduras fly over it.

In spite of all this, the Gulf of Fonseca is crossed, though not so much by imaginary "exporters of revolution from Nicaragua," as by Somoza bandits. They make the crossing from El Salvador. Nicaraguan contra "naval commandos," trained on American money in Punta Ruco, often attack Nicaraguan coastal villages under the pretext that guerrillas of the Salvadoran Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front are stationed there.

The arrows on the map show the direction of these piratical raids: the Nicaraguan province of Chinandega and port Corinto.

American military planning experts, the Washington Post remarks, write of a sun-baked strip of land wedged between the mountains and the tiny Gulf of Fonseca as the most obvious route for an invasion of Nicaragua. An American adviser in the Honduran capital has also described the Gulf of Fonseca as the most convenient route for such an invasion.

ALEXANDER BARYSHEV

U.S. Congressmen in Moscow

A delegation of U.S. Congressmen headed by James Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. The Congressmen were received by Mikhail Gorbachev. They also met other Soviet leaders and members of parliament, and visited Kiev.

"We welcome your visit all the more," said Mikhail Gorbachev, "because today we would particularly like to be understood by the administration and the American people. There has recently been a shift in that respect. We are aware of this. However, so far it has had little impact on practical cooperation, the level of which falls far short of the possibilities and responsibilities of our two countries."

The American delegation was briefed in detail on the talks with George Shultz, particularly on the readiness of the Soviet Union to go ahead with the unilateral elimination of operational tactical missiles. In this connection Soviet representatives expressed surprise at the "inverse logic" to be discerned in the attempts to reply to this new major Soviet initiative by further armament.

James Wright addressing the press conference.
TASS photo

At a press conference before leaving Moscow, James Wright described the talks as honest and open. Never in the past 15 years, he believes, has the moment been more opportune for achieving a constructive agreement on arms reduction.

Merlyn, Harry and the President

Challenge of people-to-people diplomacy

The short, seven-day trip was packed with movement in space and time. My eyes and mind recognized the places in Iowa and Minnesota that were familiar from the Mississippi peace cruise last summer. There were people I had met before and some new faces as well. Then we were plunged for a couple of days into a political whirlpool in Washington, which was shrouded in spring blossom.

Is it possible in so short a time to feel the pulse of America and discern the new processes now occurring in the life of this land of contradictions? I really doubted it. I even said so to Howard Frazier, leader of the U.S. organization Promoting Enduring Peace, who played host to the Soviet Peace Committee delegation. We had arrived to witness the collection of signatures to the Soviet-American People's Appeal for Peace. Launched at the U.N. headquarters on East River last August, the campaign is being conducted in both countries. My remark prompted Howard to produce from his well-worn briefcase a big folder with our schedule of meetings, talks and interviews covering practically every hour of the day.

Projects in Iowa

A 20-seater plane, disdainfully dubbed the "cigar" because of its shape and the restricted space that causes a man of even medium height to support the ceiling with his head, was hovering over the country's most fertile state, Iowa. Once in a while, as I looked through the papers I had bought in neighbouring Minnesota, I would cast an anxious glance through the porthole. The headlines were not at all inspiring: "Another Auction" or "Jones' Farm for Sale." In Minnesota 30,000 farmers were on the verge of ruin this year. The papers carried a report from Iowa too: over the last two years several thousand farmers were ruined and at least twenty banks granting loans to farmers went bankrupt.

In my mind's eye I saw the familiar weather-beaten, sun-tanned face of Merlyn Bradley, a 64-year-old fourth-generation farmer who had extended warm hospitality to us last summer. I wondered how he was faring.

I met him a day later. I learned with relief that there had been pleasant changes in his life. His son had got married. His farm was all right. However, he remarked: "Many of my neighbours gathered their last harvest last year. They were ruined. Some committed suicide. It is terrible to give up something that was the purpose of your life. What are we without our land? There is no other place to make a new start, because the situation is the same everywhere."

"Why are the farmers being ruined?"

"The prices of grain cover only half the production costs. We can't sell our products. The home market is glutted. And export policy leaves much to be desired." [In the last five years the U.S.A.'s export of farm products has dropped by 39 per cent.—**G.S.**]

"And who is to blame?" I asked.

"The men in Washington, of course. It is they who shape the policy, or rather fail to shape it. The farmers have only one hope—the credit programmes of the federal farming agency. However, the administration has been slashing them too."

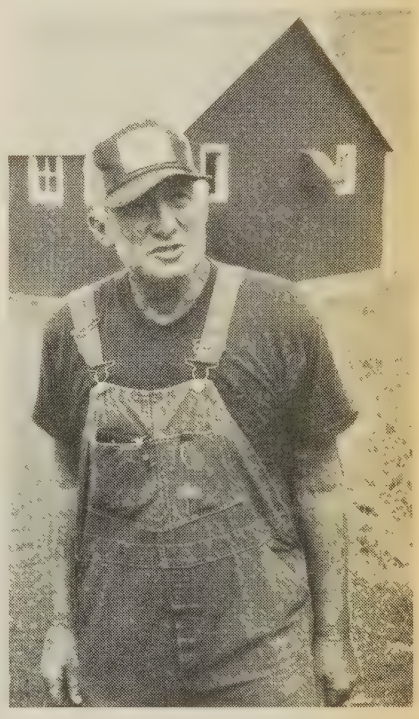
"I read that the budget for 1987 earmarked 126 million dollars for the credit programmes in Iowa, compared with 404 million dollars in 1985."

"That's right. Instead of helping the farmers they are spending the money on arms. In the last eight years they have imposed four embargos on the export of grain to the Soviet Union. Who gained from this? Not the farmers, of course. I can see, in principle, why you regard us as an unreliable partner and buy grain from other countries. If the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. got together they could do a lot of good. They could not only meet their own needs, but also help out hungry people all over the world. What is needed is a reasonable policy," Merlyn Bradley concluded.

Both in Iowa and Minnesota people constantly talked of a reasonable policy. And this is not surprising. The mounting tensions in U.S.-Soviet relations have inevitably resulted in bigger military spending and the curtailing of trade. This in turn has had an increasingly adverse effect on the well-being of many Americans indeed.

The farmers', religious and public organizations of Iowa have formed an anti-missile association. They are trying to get the administration to take $600 million from the Pentagon's budget and transfer this sum to the local credit fund of the farming agency.

David Speer, commissioner of Minnesota's department of energy and economic development, gave his idea of exchanges between some big Soviet research centre and his state, which has major electronic industries, and of promoting trade in farm products.



Merlyn Bradley, an Iowa farmer: "What is needed is a reasonable policy."

Jean Lloyd-Jones, a senator of the Iowa legislature, is head of the Peace Institute set up by a large group of politicians and businessmen of that state to further understanding, trade and contacts with other countries.

"Iowa's economy," she says, "is oriented on export. We have considerable international ties. This prompted us to organize the institute. Our motto is: lasting peace through cooperation. We are engaged in practical activities and research. We have enlisted colleges, universities and public organizations in our effort. We are most interested in the People's Appeal for Peace and the possibilities it offers for carrying out projects in pursuit of cooperation."

The appeal has inaugurated a campaign for the collection not only of signatures but also of requests from schools, churches, universities, hospitals, municipal bodies, peace organizations, and women's and businessmen's associations to establish direct ties with their opposite numbers in the other country. (The same thing is currently happening in the U.S.S.R.) The purpose is to enter into contact through an exchange of information, letters, reciprocal visits, and the working out of agreements on joint projects at local level. In other words, it boils down to people-to-people diplomacy.

From the horse's mouth

The meeting in question had not been planned. My friends Kitty and Henry Weaver, a middle-aged couple who live in an old mansion in a Washington suburb, always receive guests from the Soviet Union warmly. This time they invited a neighbour for dinner. With a mysterious smile, Kitty remarked, "I am sure it will be interesting for you to meet him. He has been studying the Soviet Union for a long time."

And she was right.

Harry Rositzke was first chief of the Soviet Operations Division at the CIA. He worked at Langley from the day the agency was founded till 1970. He has also written many books. However, it turned out that he has never been to the Soviet Union.

"I got my degree at Harvard in German philology," he explained. "Later I taught it. I fought in the second world war and was enlisted in the Office of Strategic Services [the CIA's precursor —**G.S.**]. I was stationed in London, Paris and Germany. I thought intelligence was far more exciting than teaching. That was why I joined the CIA as soon as it was formed. And I immediately plunged into Soviet-American problems."

"And what is your opinion of U.S. policy towards the U.S.S.R.?" I asked.

"After the war we based our policy on fear of Moscow's military threat. This was a fundamentally unsound premise."

"This means that you do not believe in the threat?"

"It is my conviction that the long-term Soviet threat to the American interest is not military, but political and economic. We employed military power almost exclusively to contain a fundamentally political-economic threat, and lost. We assumed the impossible task of maintaining the status quo in a revolutionary world. We simplified the world into a political caricature of red and white."

"And what is your idea of the future? If we do not constitute a military threat to you, perhaps, it would be reasonable to think of heading for a safer, say a nuclear-free, world, in which our two countries could compete in the economic field and in trade, if you like."

"A nuclear-free world? This would be highly improbable in my view. At least for the time being. It might prove possible later. Who knows? There are so many nuances here, such as third countries, and after all, our own security is based on nuclear deterrence. I believe that at the moment we should lower the level of military confrontation as quickly as possible."

"What would be a reasonable policy for the U.S.A., in your opinion?"

"I set forth my view in my last book. It's necessary to stop preaching and sermonizing, and talk as equals with other states about anything; swallow our distaste for socialism and Marxism, and trade with anyone; export not free enterprise but its fruits; accept change as a fact of life; practise as well as preach free trade. It is high time we concluded practical agreements on disarmament and gradually switched over the funds we are spending on the arms race to more urgent needs."

Frankly speaking, it gave me particular satisfaction to hear these conclusions from a person who had spent many years assessing the "Soviet threat" and the capacity of the "potential enemy."

Manoeuvres on the Potomac

The atmosphere in Washington's official and business quarters seemed electrified by the Irangate scandal. The strong and confident Reagan, the protégé and favourite of the right, has been replaced by a Reagan quite without glamour, who is looking for excuses to vindicate himself for the part he played in the Iran-contras affair. That was my appraisal of the president when he appeared at a news conference for the first time after a four-month interval. Incidentally, I watched the programme only a couple of steps from the Davenport Radio building, Iowa, where Ronald Reagan started out in life as a sports commentator. This gave food for thought. What will the meteoric political career of a man whose fanatical anti-communism and influential patrons made him the country's chief executive be crowned with? What legacy will he leave to posterity, in addition to his scandal-tarnished reputation and the new types of weapon that have been put into production? Will he want (or be able) to add vital agreements with the U.S.S.R. to his record?

In the last few days the president's voice has become firmer, particularly when he is urging the nation to build up its strength. At the moment Washington is engaged in a discussion of alternatives: whether to pursue policies based on a balance of fear or to conclude disarmament agreements, whether to seek for ways of cooperating with the U.S.S.R. or find pretexts for confrontation. The activization of right-wing political forces is giving rise to concern. The right have hastened to prop up the chief of the White House with the Pentagon's pamphlet "Soviet Military Power" and another outburst of spy hysteria. No wonder this was timed to coincide with the visit of Secretary of State George Shultz to Moscow. The purpose is to persuade U.S. public opinion to forget the recent political

The Americans who organized the Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament across the U.S. are now preparing for a Soviet-American Peace March from Leningrad to Moscow scheduled for this summer. Photos by author

troubles of the present administration and abandon all hope of reaching agreement and understanding with Moscow. The right are proposing that the nation unite under the colours of the "indomitable president" in the face of the "Soviet threat."

Of course, these circles are concerned not so much about Ronald Reagan's reputation (although they have no suitable replacement for him even for the coming elections). What worries them is the mounting pressure on the administration from those who favour a reasonable policy towards the U.S.S.R. and have been persistently stating their views in the Capitol, as well as from peace supporters and potential advocates of people's diplomacy.

Two streams of information have clashed to stir U.S. public opinion. One inside the country—the Irangate scandal, its consequences and the decline of public confidence in the administration. The other from outside—a landslide of reports on the reforms in the U.S.S.R. Though the latter are of a contradictory nature, they are blasting the familiar image of the "closed" and "anti-democratic" Soviet society the U.S. media have taken such pains to instil in the minds of the Americans, to some extent, with the help of references to unfortunate aspects of recent Soviet history. Today the White House's secret diplomacy and the practice of adopting decisions behind the backs of fellow Americans contrast in their minds with Moscow's policy of openness in domestic and foreign affairs. And this has proved a doubly stunning blow.

Americans, of course, have not become less self-centred. However, many of them are beginning to realize with ever greater clarity that both nations are becoming increasingly interdependent. Whether they like it or not, and whether we like it or not, everything that happens in our country inevitably affects developments in theirs. And vice versa.

We have seen for ourselves that the campaign for the collection of signatures to the People's Appeal for Peace has been a success in the heart of America and on the East Coast. On Hiroshima Day the petitions and signatures will be presented to the Soviet and U.S. leaders, as well as to the U.N. Secretary-General. The campaign will be continued in both countries afterwards. Its purpose is to create an atmosphere, and shape public opinion, in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., which would reduce the probability of hostile, provocative political decisions to a minimum by the beginning of the next century.

People's diplomacy is challenging reckless policies.

GALINA SIDOROVA
our special correspondent
Minneapolis—Davenport—
Dubuque—Washington—Moscow

"Nothing left ... but to take them all"

On April 19, 1901, President Emilio Aguinaldo of the Philippine Republic was forced to sign a declaration recognizing U.S. sovereignty over the Philippines.

The three-year war between the U.S. and the Philippines (1898-1901) has been described in many books. The American military perpetrated atrocities. Moreover, at every stage in the war of conquest Washington resorted to political deception.

The Philippines had been a Spanish possession since the late 16th century. In 1896 the people rebelled against the colonialists, but the rebellion was quashed and its leaders, headed by General Aguinaldo, had to flee the country. The American consuls in Singapore (Spencer Pratt) and in Hongkong (Rounseville Wildman) met Aguinaldo separately in April 1898 and on behalf of the U.S. government proposed that he return to the Philippines under cover of the American Navy to resume his struggle against the Spanish authorities. The commander of the U.S. Pacific squadron, Commodore George Dewey, assured him that "there was no doubt that the United States would recognize Philippine independence." On May 2 his squadron sank the weak Spanish fleet, but it was the rebels who bore the brunt of the land fighting. Before long they had defeated all the Spanish garrisons in the achipelago. On June 12, 1898, Emilio Aguinaldo proclaimed the Declaration of Independence.

By then the Spaniards held only the besieged Manila. The American command was trying to prevail upon the Filipinos not to be too impatient to storm the capital: American troops were expected. They arrived towards the end of July. Commodore Dewey then proposed a secret deal to the commander of the Spanish garrison in Manila: instead of ignominiously capitulating before the "black savages" he would surrender the capital to the representatives of a "civilized" power. On August 13 the American troops entered the city.

In October 1898 Spanish-American talks on ending the war began in Paris. To President McKinley's surprise, the handover of the Philippines to the U.S. met with opposition from some congressmen. McKinley then delivered himself of the following oration:

"The truth is I didn't want the Philippines, and when they came to us as a gift from the gods, I didn't know what to do with them... I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance... And one night it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came: that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government—and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there... There was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos and uplift and civilize and Christianize them... And then I went to bed and went to sleep and slept soundly."

Uncle Sam: they are pretty hard to put down, I admit.

Cartoon from Journal (Detroit, U.S.A.) of the period of the Spanish-American war

On December 10, 1898, the Treaty of Paris was signed, under which Spain ceded the archipelago to the United States. The national government of the Philippines tried to protest but to no avail. To persuade the senators to ratify the treaty, the White House resorted to provocation. On February 4, 1899, an American soldier opened fire on a bridge near Manila separating the American and Filipino patrols. There was an exchange of fire, and a cable was promptly dispatched to Washington claiming that the Filipino army had attacked U.S. troops. The trick worked, and the treaty was ratified.

Meanwhile the U.S. troops launched an offensive, marking the start of a sanguinary colonial war. The mobile headquarters of General Aguinaldo had long been a symbol of the continued resistance of the Filipinos. How to capture him? The U.S. again resorted to a ploy. In March 1901 a unit of American mercenaries recruited from the local Macabebe tribe was sent into the area where the headquarters was concealed. The commander of the unit carried a forged letter which said the unit had allegedly been sent as a reinforcement to the general by one of his supporters. A group of American officers headed by Colonel Funston went along with the unit, posing as "prisoners." Aguinaldo took the letter at face value and received the new arrivals in good faith. He was immediately seized and Funston declared him arrested "in the name of the U.S. government" and had him brought to Manila. The result is well known.

GEORGI YUMATOV

A cupful of rice

Report from the Mekong Delta

During the American aggression, Highway No. 4 was a fighting road. The interventionists lost a great deal of combat equipment on it. Today the highway is a busy south Vietnamese traffic artery, running through fields crisscrossed with canals, and past villages where the turn of each new year is the peak of the autumn and winter harvesting season. At that time the road is laid over with reaped rice stalks. The blazing sun and warm asphalt dry them and passing cars and carts thresh the golden grains out. In the meantime, work is also in progress on rice paddies, with small sheaves threshed against wooden rollers or inclined boards.

Light bamboo fibre boats steered by men, women and children, glide along the canals carrying all sorts of things: rice, bricks, basketfuls of poultry and squealing sucking-pigs, long bamboo stalks, and heaps of bananas and pineapples.

A ferry took us across the Hau Giang, the largest branch of the Mekong, to the town of Can Tho. The surrounding province is named after the river. Within the town's limits its banks are lined with apartment houses, stores, workshops and wharves. Nanh Kieu wharf on the right bank is a vivid sight. The ferry threads its way through a swarm of sampans, junks and skiffs of every conceivable shape and colour resembling fish, dragons and arrows. The wharf is a lively marketplace with kitchen chimneys smoking here and there, the air pervaded with the pungent aromas of exotic food. The boats lying alongside are cafés, restaurants and tiny taverns offering their delicious and fragrant specialties—fish, shrimps, lobsters, molluscs and eels—all cooked quickly, seasoned with hot spices, and served with smiles. There are even floating circuses and theatres.

A river scene.

The problems of Hau Giang Province

The province's population is slightly over two and a half million, with an arable area of about 400,000 hectares. Owing to its fine climate and fertile soils, the province has been the country's No. 1 granary from time out of mind. It grows more rice than any other part of the country.

For all that, at the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Le Thanh Nhan, secretary of the provincial committee, dwelt mainly on acute problems and serious shortcomings. Such, in fact, was the overall atmosphere at the congress, which called for economic and social reconstruction, and the rectification of mistakes that had caused serious difficulties and a drop in living standards.

"We often say," Le Thanh Nhan said from the congress platform, "that agriculture is vital to our economy. This is correct, but we still pay inadequate attention to it. The supply of fertilizers and machines is insufficient. Our province, which accounts for 10 per cent of the country's entire food output, needs at least 200,000 tons of fertilizer a year, of which we get barely a third. The same is true of machinery, fuel and spares supplies. How can we attain a high standard of farming under the circumstances? Too many jobs in our agriculture are still done by hand; you cannot raise and harvest a bumper crop this way nowadays."

If a peasant is to produce more, Le Thanh Nhan said, we must encourage him to do so by supplying him with manufactured goods—fabrics, clothes, footwear and building materials.

"Our farm produce purchasing prices are extremely low," he said. "The peasants are simply not interested in growing even such traditional staples as rice and sugarcane. Every hectare of sugarcane is taxed 7,000 dongs, which is too heavy a burden. Moreover, for processing a crop of sugarcane and selling it to the state, a community has to pay extra taxes: commodity (25 per cent), turnover and income which reach 40 per cent of the crop cost. The state pays the peasant 2.5 dongs per kilogram of unhulled rice, while on the open market it costs 38 dongs."

In the Mekong Delta there are nine provinces with 2.5 million hectares of cultivated land between them, of which 2.3 million are rice paddies. If all the arable land in the delta is put under cultivation, its irrigation and drainage systems modernized and new ones built, and enough fertilizers and machines supplied, in short, if the conditions are provided for raising two or three crops a year (instead of just one as is now the case in most places), this agricultural area will be able to feed 40 million of the country's 60 million-strong population.

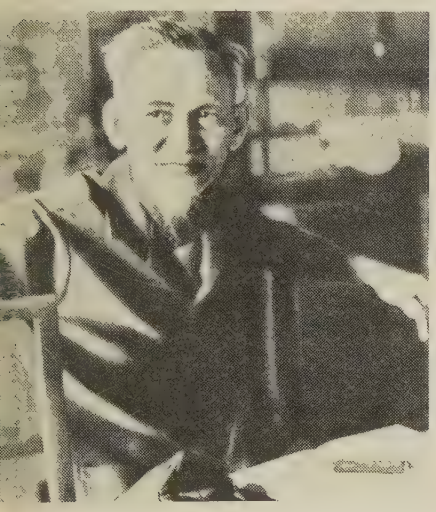
Large expanses of the delta's arable land were deserted during the war: the Americans drove the local people away with barbarous bombings, napalm and toxic agents. All the irrigation systems were completely destroyed. In a trop-

ical country, a field left uncultivated for two or three years is promptly overgrown with tough bushes and grass. Bringing it back to life takes a lot of effort and money.

The Dong Hai state farm

In Minh Hai Province—the delta's second largest—I had interesting meetings and talks at the Dong Hai state farm, set up on just such a war-ravaged tract of land.

Duong Van Hiep, director of the state farm, comes from another delta, that of the Red River in the north of the country. A Hanoi Agricultural Institute



Duong Van Hiep, director of the Dong Hai state farm.

Photos by author

graduate, he worked as an agronomist and cooperative chairman before coming over here, to the abandoned lands, bringing some three hundred families with him, all experienced rice growers.

"When I saw the place where we were about to set up a state farm I all but gave up." the director told me. "I knew, of course, that the Americans had dropped many bombs on the Mekong Delta. I had seen the destruction caused by American bombers at home in the north. But I couldn't imagine that the land could be mutilated so badly."

Duong Van Hiep went back to his native province of Hai Hung to fetch the would-be settlers, but he wasn't quite sure at first whether it would be wise to tell the people, all set to go to the other end of the country, what he had seen there. So he called on the secretary of the provincial party committee and shared his doubts with him. The secretary considered the matter and said: "I think they must be told the whole truth. If anyone backs out it won't make much difference. But then those who decide to go will be prepared to face the difficulties." Duong Van Hiep followed this advice. Only two of the families changed their minds.

It was hard going at first. The new settlers lived virtually at the expense of the state. They reclaimed only 76 hectares of land in the first year. But these hectares, ploughed up the hard way, served as a springboard for further advance. In the following year, a number of Belarus tractors, two bulldozers, two excavators, uprooters and other equipment arrived from the Soviet Union.

"A new problem arose, however," the director reminisced. "Where were the machine operators to come from? I wrote a letter to my province's party committee. The comrades there issued a call for volunteer help, and a whole team was formed as a result. Here is the lad who headed it," he said, pointing to a tall youth who had just stepped in. "Anything urgent, Lam?"

"Not terribly, I'd just like to have a word with you."

"Well, what is it?"

"We've picked three boys for the machine repair course in Can Tho." He named them.

"Good boys, those. Did well in the army," the director agreed. "O.K., let's get all the papers ready. Having our own machine repairmen will save us a lot of time and money."

The director offered to show me around the fields. Some paddies had already been cleared of rice, in others peasants were busy harvesting a new crop, and yet others were still green.

"We sow varieties of rice that take different lengths of time to ripen. Otherwise the sowing and harvesting seasons would catch us hopelessly shorthanded," the director explained. "So far, we do most of the jobs—seedling transplantation, weeding and fertilizing—manually, and when harvest time comes we have our hands full. I saw your harvesters bringing in rice in Krasnodar quickly and efficiently. True, I was told that grain losses sometimes occur owing to faults in harvester design. Too bad. As our ancient saying goes, in order to grow a cupful of rice one has to shed a cupful of sweat. It is certainly a shame to lose what is grown by hard work."

Today Dong Hai is a large state farm which sows rice over a total of more than 500 hectares. It brings in an average over 5 tons of rice per hectare. This is good considering that in the rest of the country, the southern provinces included, the figure does not exceed 2.5 tons. How has the state farm managed to achieve such impressive results?

"The most important thing is irrigation," the director told me. "Our soils are fertile, but we've got a peculiar climate with only two seasons—dry and rainy. Without water conservation, ample precipitation is of little use. When it is saturated the soil rejects moisture, and the water pours off into the rivers which carry it to the sea. Then the dry season comes, and the tropical sun promptly dries the soil not only of moisture, but of all its juices. We need reservoirs, canals and pumping stations. We have dug over 200 kilometres of canals for various purposes."

"Could you grow larger crops?" I asked the director.

"Krasnodar collective farmers put the same question to me. Yes, we could, I told them, and this is true. We could grow twice or even three times the amount of rice we do now. With our soil and our favourable climate, this is not much of a problem. What is needed are fertilizers, machines, clever management and an economic policy that would combine the state's and the workingman's interests. I am firmly convinced that rice output can be doubled and tripled not only in the Mekong and Red River deltas, but in other provinces as well."

The Mekong Delta produces not only rice but also large amounts of fruit, chiefly citruses and pineapples. Take Ben Tre and Hau Giang provinces. Coco palm plantations take up almost 40,000 hectares in each. The plantations produce nearly 20 million nuts—a source of valueable oil for the confectionery, food and perfumery industries. In the nearest future Soviet-Vietnamese cooperation in extending coconut plantations is to result in increased deliveries to our country.

* * *

The 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam set the country the difficult task of raising food output to 22-23 million tons a year towards the end of the current five-year-plan period. This will call for extra effort, new capital investment in agriculture, a new style of management and new thinking. All over Vietnam people hope to make a major advance towards this target as early as this year.

MIKHAIL DOMOGATSKIKH

Hanoi

The reform that has been initiated in the Soviet Union raises the question about the future of the socialist economy and system. First you'll have self-management, then a change-over to private ownership, then what!...

JIRI GRAJNEDER
Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia

TAKING UP A POINT

Zdenek HORENI, editor-in-chief of the Czechoslovak paper Rude Pravo, replies:

This is a real revolution

Along with comrade Grajneder's letter, the editors of New Times forwarded to me a letter from Elsa Jors of the F.R.G. who, recalling the "Prague spring" of 1968, longs for "socialism with a human face" and asserts that now, in launching the restructuring drive, the Soviet Union is having second thoughts about what happened in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1980. The spirit of these two letters is poles apart. But let us try to sort things out.

To begin with, a few words about what socialism with "a human face" really is.

It has become increasingly clear with the passage of time that the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1956 and 1980 were nothing short of counterrevolution. Their purpose was not to improve socialism, but to eliminate it. It is true that in those years counterrevolutionaries donned socialist garb because they preferred not to show their true colours.

Drawing upon the experience of the international communist and working-class movement, Lenin exposed those reactionaries who, while fighting socialism from within, pretended to support it. Anti-communism resorts to this tactic whenever it cannot act against socialism in the open. In such cases the reactionaries use a wide range of methods of psychological warfare, and all to the same end—to revitalize revisionism. This was true of Hungary and Poland in the mid-fifties, Czechoslovakia in the late sixties and Poland again in 1980.

It is important to note that anti-socialist forces in socialist garb often try to discredit Marxist-Leninist parties by using the same trick—exploiting the mistakes and shortcomings admitted to and denounced by these parties themselves!

This was the case in Hungary, as confirmed by documents. In March 1955 the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party condemned erroneous industrialization and farm collectivization practices in the country and adopted the correct resolution on the need to fight leftist dogmatists and breakers of socialist laws. Unfortunately, Hungarian Communists were prevented from carrying this resolution out at the time.

This was also the case in Poland, when anti-socialist forces took advantage of the working people's discontent and provoked disturbances in the country in October 1956. There, too, they capitalized on the conclusions drawn by the Polish United Workers' Party on the need to remedy the mistakes identified at the Central Committee's plenary meeting in March.

Czechoslovakia went through the same experience in the sixties. In our country progress towards socialism has not been plain sailing either. Problems arose, solutions were found, but mistakes and tragic delusions were rectified unacceptably slowly. A discussion in the run-up to the 13th Congress of the CPCz in 1966 revealed many of our miscalculations in the building of socialism. However, the decisions of the congress were never fully implemented. The right availed themselves of our tardiness and launched a campaign to revise the general line of the Party, undermine the principles on which it was organized and destroy the political and economic structure of socialism. The hypocritical slogan "socialism with a human face" mentioned by Frau Jors was used by right-wing demagogues merely as a mask. The baiting of honest Communists and other supporters of socialism was graphic evidence of this, as it was subsequently in Poland. In 1956 Hungarian counterrevolutionaries went so far as to shoot Communists openly in the streets.

Comrade Grajneder and others of my compatriots go to the other extreme: they are afraid lest the new trends in the U.S.S.R. cause it to stray from socialist principles. Are there any grounds for such apprehensions?

The purpose of the reform now under way in the U.S.S.R. is to stir all the links in the political system to greater activity and to draw the population in running the affairs of society on a wider scale, to improve Soviet democracy and implement in ever fuller measure socialist self-government of the people through getting them and their work collectives and organizations actively to participate in state and public life. Is this incompatible with socialism?

You fear the consequences of self-government. But doesn't the practice of self-government (of which the Communist Party is the organizing force) underlie the functioning of the entire political system, particularly that of the Soviets of People's Deputies? Soviet Communists admit that the activity of the Soviets has recently failed to keep pace with the imperatives of the time, that their prestige as government bodies has begun to dwindle and that their economic and legal authority has diminished. Now, in the course of restructuring, these shortcomings are being resolutely removed through the democratization of the Soviets. This is being done on the Party's own initiative and by its own purposeful effort. Any destruction of socialism is therefore out of the question.

Restructuring has extended the rights of work collectives in the U.S.S.R. and stepped up their productive and political activity. The principles of democratic centralism in economic management are being persistently put into practice, and socialist enterprise is being encouraged in every way. Industrial plants are being granted ever

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OPINIONS

Respect for others: an earnest of peace

Much is being written today in my country about the plight of Italian POWs in Poland in 1943-45. Well, I was one of them. I was interned in a number of concentration camps, the last of them being in Gdansk (Danzig). I was set free by Soviet soldiers, for which I am infinitely grateful to them. In those terrible days the Russians were our only hope, and we impatiently awaited their arrival.

The reason why I am writing to you today is that although there is a lot of talk about the U.S.S.R., one seldom hears expressions of gratitude to the Soviet people for the great sacrifices they made in World War II, when they liberated Europe from nazi slavery. The Soviet Union lost more than 20 million of its sons and daughters. And yet the Italian media reiterate that the Russians are evil; at one time they even went so far as to suggest that the Russians all but feed on children.

A few years ago I visited Moscow and Leningrad, and all those I met turned out to be kind and charming people. I saw how amazingly cheap public transport is, and learned that public health services and public education are free, that there are jobs for all and, consequently, no unemployment with its inevitable trauma.

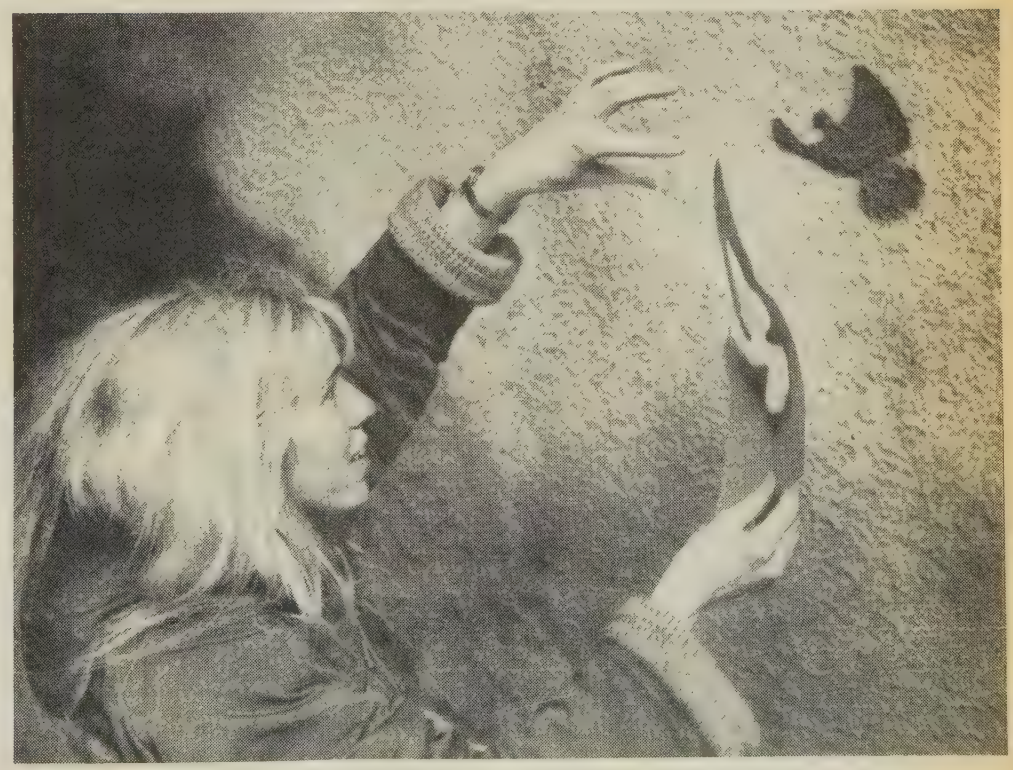
In short, I had the impression that things are very different from the way in which certain Western papers describe them. And they would be better still but for the U.S.-unleashed arms race, which compels you to spend so much on defence.

I realize, of course, that there are good and bad people everywhere, but I rebel against the tradition of besmearing those with whom we disagree. If we are to live in peace on our planet, we must learn respect, tolerance and fellowship for those who differ from us.

NICOLO ROSA
Rovereto, Italy

A READER'S CONTRIBUTION

A contribution from Klaus Rose, a well-known West German press photographer.



Joint ventures: problems of incentive and profit

Igor Faminsky, D.Sc. (Econ.) (left) and Victor Firsov, Cand.Sc. (Econ.).

Professor IGOR FAMINSKY, director of the National Research Institute for Foreign Economic Relations under the Foreign Economic Relations Commission of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., is interviewed by New Times reporter Victor Firsov.

Firsov: Discussing joint ventures as a relatively new form of foreign economic activity for the Soviet Union, some people often mention the New Economic Policy of the 1920s, relating that period, as it were, to the 1980s. Are such associations justified?

Faminsky: Having announced the New Economic Policy, our Party set out to rehabilitate the war-ravaged economy and advance Russia to the level achieved at the time by developed capitalist countries. The joint ventures that are being launched today are called upon to play a different role, namely, to boost our participation in international specialization and coproduction. So the two periods of economic development are fundamentally different in terms of the tasks facing the country.

Firsov: Yet the experience of the New Economic Policy should not be disregarded, it seems. That policy brought out the latent reserves in our system and also helped us understand to what extent the involvement of foreign capital could be permitted without infringing on the basic principles of socialism, for instance, the state monopoly of foreign trade.

Faminsky: The monopoly of foreign trade was introduced on Lenin's initiative in 1918. The overall idea was that foreign trade should be the prerogative of the state, which was to decide what volume of foreign trade operations should be entrusted to what agencies. However, organizational structures in that field can be modified depending on the tasks facing the state at one time or another.

Incidentally, Lenin had to argue with opponents of the state monopoly of foreign trade even within the Party, seeking to prove that not only a special agency (the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade) but also other state bodies, including those engaged exclusively in domestic trade, should contribute to foreign trade operations. Most importantly, he believed that joint-stock enterprises, mixed companies in which foreign capital would be represented as well as that of Soviet organizations, could operate on foreign markets. The decree of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee "On Foreign Trade," approved on March 13, 1922, stipulated that foreign capital could be attracted to produce export-oriented goods in the country, to market them abroad, and also to import the goods needed to rehabilitate the national economy and for the home market.

Firsov: Companies with the participation of foreign capital did not take root in our country at the time. However, foreign trade, which was very modest from the point of view of today, made it possible to involve very different enterprises and make use of many forms of cooperation.

Faminsky: Nevertheless, the view that the state monopoly of foreign trade is equivalent to a monopoly by the Ministry of Foreign Trade was current for a long time. That system of organization emerged in the 1930s, when major foreign trade associations secured the monopoly of trade in specific goods. It was a necessary measure at the time because it made it possible to concentrate trade, mostly in raw materials, under one body. But now that we are seeking not only to expand our export of manufactures, machinery and equipment but also to organize coproduction in that field, these patterns cannot satisfy us. That is why we are on the lookout for new forms. Joint ventures are one of them.

Naturally, our business contacts should not be limited to them. Direct ties between enterprises, for instance, offer equal promise. Specialization and coproduction ventures can be expanded at the level of enterprises of socialist, capitalist and developing countries. These are a new departure for us, and many problems are arising.

Firsov: The problem is, apparently, that our interests and those of our potential partners far from always coincide.

Faminsky: Western partners often think that joint ventures will enable them to make inroads into our market and thus boost their profits. But such a one-sided orientation of joint ven-

tures would merely increase our hard currency spending, which could result in balance-of-payment deficits vis-à-vis other countries unless exports grow accordingly. That is why joint ventures should export a part of their output to buy raw materials and equipment both on the domestic market and abroad and transfer funds outside the country as profit, wages for foreign personnel, etc.

The state cannot and must not interfere in the operations of joint ventures just as it has no obligation to meet their hard currency expenses. That is why the main principle is self-sufficiency in hard currency. The task is not only to meet the demand of the domestic market with the help of such ventures but also to upgrade production standards and produce more competitive goods to boost exports.

Firsov: But sometimes it is expedient to set up joint ventures which do not fully meet their hard currency expenses. Instead, they will make it possible substantially to curtail imports and thus help save hard currency reserves.

Faminsky: It stands to reason that, if a joint venture produces goods on a mass scale that are not manufactured by Soviet industry but imported by the U.S.S.R. in large quantities, this will help cut back hard currency expenses.

Firsov: What then is your view of the profitability of joint ventures and the incentives to them?

Faminsky: The tax rate for joint ventures is 30 per cent of the gross profit plus a 20 per cent tax if the foreign partner wishes to transfer his profit abroad. Is it a lot or little?

Joint ventures should be established in our territory if their profits at least average the overall profitability rate in our country, which is 14-15 per cent. At this rate, the net profit transferred by the foreign partner abroad will be 7-8 per cent. If the foreign partner chooses to reinvest it in the U.S.S.R., it will be higher, roughly 10 per cent, because the 20 per cent transfer tax will not be levied. If the actual profit proves higher than the average, which is very possible as joint ventures will use efficient technology and processes, foreign partners will earn even bigger profits. Meanwhile, a net profit of 7-8 and even 5 per cent is considered quite satisfactory in the West.

Firsov: But if we want to attract foreign investors, we should offer them better terms than those offered by other countries.

Faminsky: We think our terms are quite favourable. Moreover, there is a two-year exemption from all taxes. It is not much, of course, in view of our construction schedules. But, first, this should stimulate speedier construction and the early organization of production. Second, when it comes to capital- and science-intensive types of production, which call for greater investment in the early years, joint ventures can claim additional tax privileges.

Firsov: But in Hungary, for instance, joint ventures in some industries are exempt from taxes for five years and pay a 20 per cent tax beginning with the sixth year.

Faminsky: We should remember that our market has some advantages over the markets of other countries: it is immense and has huge raw material resources. This explains interest in our proposals: we have already more than 200 applications for joint ventures from different companies.

I think initially a limited number of joint ventures will be established. Their practice has to be assessed and their operation analyzed in the context of our economy.

It cannot be ruled out that new problems, which we have not yet mentioned, will arise, such as contractual prices and their relationship to the fluctuation of world prices.

Firsov: But what about the ebb and flow of politics? Cooperation with the West in such high-tech fields as electronics, robotics and laser technology is blocked by the restrictions of COCOM, NATO's Coordinating Committee for Control of Strategic Exports to Communist Countries. It appears that only companies manufacturing consumer goods and farm products and engaged in the public services can be considered dependable partners.

Faminsky: No, they do not exhaust the list. Proposals are now under discussion to establish joint ventures in the chemical, engineering and timber industries. Of course, Western restrictions on the transfer of advanced technology and processes are holding back potential partners, and many Western companies are questioning their politicians about the rationality of such restrictions. Indeed, those companies are not only losing profits but have no access to Soviet scientific and technological achievements.

Firsov: True, it is admitted in the West that Soviet science is sufficiently developed and even leads the world in some areas of fundamental research. However, we sometimes lack the experience needed for introducing technical novelties in mass production as quickly as possible and for marketing them. Foreign companies have plenty of experience in this respect and the marriage of our scientific achievements and foreign experience of mass production and marketing is one of the most promising areas of joint business activity. Are there any proposals from Western companies for the establishment of joint ventures on this basis?

Faminsky: I think the initiative in this respect should come from us. We ourselves should offer technological novelties and attract foreign partners to organize their production and marketing. In my view, industries and organizations that are concerned with scientific and technological research should pay more attention to this aspect of foreign economic activity. The State Committee for Science and Technology, for instance, could work harder in that field. Naturally, we should borrow foreign experience too.

In the past few years, for instance, there have emerged in the West several development, engineering, marketing and consultation firms, some of them quite small, which could well be attracted to promoting our scientific and technological novelties on the world market.

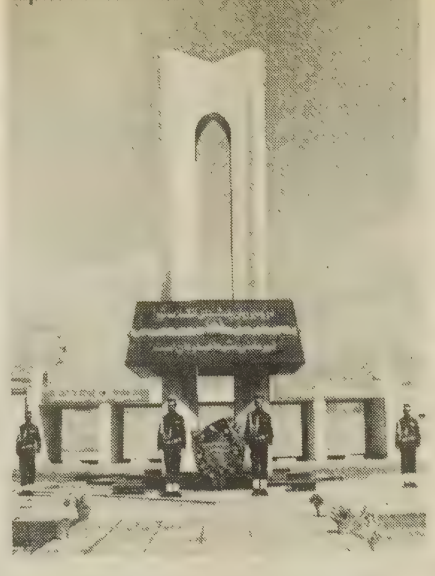
This area of cooperation also seems promising for both sides. Generally speaking, there are many other fields of business cooperation in which a fresh approach could lead to mutually advantageous projects. We are ready for such cooperation. It is a long-range policy. ■

Diplomats meet with Marchuk

The heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Moscow as well as embassy scientific counsellors have met Academician Guri Marchuk, President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. They saw an exhibition of books and journals brought out by Nauka Publishers.

The meeting was organized by the Foreign Ministry's protocol department.

Kabul. Monument to the heroes of the April revolution.



Celebrating the ninth anniversary of the April revolution, the people of Afghanistan are engaged in an uphill struggle for national reconciliation

Nine years and a hundred days

VADIM OKULOV

The summits of the mountains around Kabul are still dazzlingly white with snow, but the spring month of Hamal has already unloosed long-awaited torrents of rain on the streets. Urchin peddlers still sell tulips picked in the foothills, but the hot breath of the approaching summer is already being felt in the city. On April 27 the square between the government grandstand and the capital's main mosque Ijhah will be thronged with jubilant people and troops will march in review to the sound of brass bands. On this day, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will be nine years old. But it is perhaps the hundred days preceding the anniversary that future historians will describe as the most important period in the life of the country—the hundred days since the government proclaimed its unilateral cease-fire in the fratricidal war that has ravaged Afghanistan for the past eight years.

Expressing popular aspirations

January 15, when the cease-fire was announced, was just a milestone on the road to national reconciliation. The principles of that policy had been laid down by the 16th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) late in 1985. However, vigorous steps to put it into practice were only taken under the present party leadership.

The broad support in various social strata for the idea of mutual concessions to bring peace to Afghanistan refuted the allegations of some Western "Afghanistan watchers" that the policy of reconciliation is imported. The policy of the country's enemies which makes Afghans kill fellow Afghans cannot be successful in the long run in a country where bonds of kinship are so strong, and the extended but close-knit family is like a self-regulating model of society, containing analogues of state institutions, economic, legal and political.

At the same time, as many Afghans I spoke to have stressed, a national compromise for the sake of restoring peace and quiet does not mean that the revolution is going to abandon its position. The working people find the prospect of a return to the prerevolutionary order as abhorrent as that of continued fratricidal conflict. On the contrary, the people want to see the national democratic revolution carried through by more democratic methods to address the vital interests and needs of the whole of Afghan society.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is taking these wishes into account. It is remedying the mistakes made in the past which enabled the enemies of the April revolution to misrepresent the events in the country as a civil war, and not as the result of interference by imperialist forces. The role of Islamic and tribal traditions and of private capital in economic development is no longer underestimated, and the principles whereby land and water reform is being implemented are being carefully reconsidered. Since last year vigorous measures have been taken to extend the government's social base. The party is improving its work, reinforcing its links with the people and abandoning methods that rely chiefly on armchair and rostrum leadership. There is a sense of sobriety and realistic appraisal. "This party course is meeting with various obstacles," PDPA General Secretary Najib told me in a recent interview. "In some places resistance stems from misunderstanding, in others, from a reluctance to adopt new ways. But we are committed to reform, because it is the only way our revolution can advance."

Peaceful offensive

The party's strategy is aimed at satisfying the people's desire for peace. Taking the political initiative firmly into its hands, the PDPA has declared its commitment to creating a broad-based coalition government. It has proposed to the opposition forces to start negotiations on the composition of the government, in Kabul or in any neutral capital.

The PDPA is continuing its peaceful offensive. In early April Najib announced that a draft constitution of the D.R.A. had been completed and declared it open for general discussion: "Discuss the draft fundamental law, criticize it and make your suggestions."

Practically every day reports of armed groups taking the side of the democratic republic reach Kabul. More than 20,000 rebels have laid down their arms. Over a thousand groups have been involved in negotiations. Small and medium-sized groups are more forthcoming in making contact with the authorities. It is mainly the larger bands of mercenaries equipped and instigated from abroad, especially the U.S., that continue the armed struggle.

In the early days of the cease-fire the general mood was festive, almost euphoric. Many believed the long-awaited peace was at hand. Before long it had become clear that the struggle for peace would be a long one and would require persistent effort and patience. Wherever I have been recently there were signs of increased tension. Such is the dialectical nature of struggle, which rids people of stary-eyed illusions. Such is the effect of the growing interference by imperialist forces.

On the orders of their chieftains based in Pakistan, major counterrevolutionary bands are out to frustrate the cease-

fire. In some provinces, places where government or Soviet troops are stationed have come under more frequent shelling. There have even been cases of violating the Soviet border. A new wave of terror against members of the extraordinary commissions for national reconciliation—of which there are 1,300 at all levels—has been unleashed. In Nangarhar Province, bandits stoned to death 65-year-old teacher Inayatullah, chairman of the district commission. In Kunduz, the head of the provincial commission Arezbegi has been murdered. In Kandahar, members of the provincial commission presidium had to go into virtual hiding as a counterrevolutionary "court" had sentenced the patriots to death.

The bandits' tactic is to prevent truthful information on the policy of national reconciliation reaching the people. To this end, bandit units have sealed off some district centres to which country people come to find out what the popular government is doing to stop the bloodletting.

However, more and more facts of a different order can be reported.

I talk to Mohammad Kasim. He tells me candidly about the deeds of the band in which he was Number 2. The band attacked convoys of trucks, robbed peasants, committed acts of violence and killed party activists. He and others like him had been trained for such actions by a Pakistani adviser in a camp near Peshawar. Although he had been conscripted to the band forcibly, he had obeyed orders from across the border for six years because his family was in a refugee camp in Pakistan. If he dared disobey, his family would be in trouble.

Mohammad could no longer tolerate this way of life. When the cease-fire was announced, he led twenty of his "comrades-in-arms" to the Afghan authorities and surrendered. Now he is fighting hard against his former "colleagues." The family has managed to make its way from Pakistan to Jalalabad where it is safe.

The story of Mohammad reveals an important fact: if their families could have been brought from across the border to the safety of their native villages, members of hundreds of armed groups, weary of marauding, would have entered into negotiations with the government more readily.

Many of my Afghan friends feel that the success of reconciliation will depend above all on how quickly the refugee problem is solved.

The trek home

The counterrevolutionary leaders, allied with the Pakistani and Iranian authorities, are trying hard to prevent people in refugee camps from returning home. They resort to promises and threats and wave the flag of Islam. In one reported incident, leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA), Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, Koran in hand, faced a crowd of widows in a refugee camp who said they wanted to return to their native parts. More often than not those who want to return home are stopped by bullets. On March 3, about a hundred Afghans set out from Parachinar camp in Pakistan towards the Afghan border. A group of Gulbuddin's thugs blocked their way. The refugees tried to force their way past, and in the ensuing clash 18 people were killed and 20 wounded on both sides. Pakistani vigilantes and Afghan counterrevolutionary bands are blocking mountain passes on the border. Those who manage to get past them are stopped by the bands who operate on the Afghan side of the border. A large number of Afghan families are being detained in Iran.

"The present policy of the Pakistani and Iranian authorities who are trying to prevent Afghan émigrés returning home does not meet the interests of political settlement," says Hasan Shark, head of the refugee department at the D.R.A. Council of Ministers. Smugglers charge 20,000 afghanis for getting a refugee family into Afghanistan. The same amount was charged several years ago to smuggle people duped by the counterrevolutionaries from Afghanistan into Pakistan.

"Isn't this arithmetic vivid proof of the dramatic change in the political situation and people's sentiments?"

These peasants are defending their village from counterrevolutionaries.
Photos by L. Mironov

Homesickness prevails over threats, violence and lack of money. It was recently announced in Kabul that more than 40,000 people had returned home since the cease-fire came into effect.

Is that many or few? Many, if one considers the obstacles that have to be overcome. Few, if one remembers that there are still at least a million and a half refugees in Pakistan, as was roughly estimated in Kabul.

From an Afghan armoured personnel carrier I can see in the distance a tent camp that sprang up near Ganikheil Village in Nangarhar Province. Eight such posts for returnees have been set up on the main Afghan roads. Here refugees can stay for two or three days,

be fed and receive medical treatment before continuing on their way to their native parts. In Ganikheil camp, I was shown a canteen, a first-aid tent, a tent for prayer, and a tent for showing films. There are stocks of clothing, food and medicine for those who need them. But I did not see any refugees. I was told that the relatively few people who make it across the border set out for home almost immediately. The camp will be of greater service when the mass return of people begins.

A mass influx is inevitable, and the D.R.A. government is preparing for it in advance by creating an economic basis for national reconciliation. Provisions for this have been made in the government budget for the Afghan year 1366, which began a month ago. There is a scheme to create more jobs, build more housing, provide the returnees with educational and medical facilities and in general help them settle down.

Compromise and economics

Despite the heavy burden of the armed struggle, the economy has over the past year, the first year of the five-year plan, performed satisfactorily. The national revenue increased by 3.5 per cent. Capital investment went up by 29 per cent. About a hundred Soviet-Afghan projects are under construction. On the eve of the anniversary of the April revolution, a foundry in the capital's Jangalak plant went into operation: for the first time in the country's history, 70 different types of casting will be produced. A blood transfusion centre built in Kabul has a plasma bank used in surgery.

Broader interaction between the state and private economic sectors is an important feature of the national reconciliation programme. The economy is dominated by the private sector, which accounts for 80 per cent of the GNP. An economic consultative council, which includes private entrepreneurs, has been set up at the Council of Ministers. It will be enshrined in the constitution as part of the government structure. A law on private investment that suits industrialists and merchants has been passed. The first all-Afghan conference of private entrepreneurs has just ended in Kabul.

A large group of Afghan entrepreneurs recently visited the Soviet Union. It has been agreed that the Soviet Union will grant them credits for the building of light and food industry projects in Afghanistan.

"Despite the complexity of the economic and social problems the return of millions of refugees will pose, we are confident that we shall cope with them," said Sayed A. Amin, Deputy Premier of the D.R.A.

A test of maturity

The party and government of the D.R.A. have never faced such formidable tasks. To ensure and consolidate the positive changes that have marked the implementation of the policy of compromise and dialogue with the opposing side means passing an incredibly difficult test of maturity.

Not everyone or everywhere rise to the test, said Afghan friends who take a sober view of the situation. Some people cannot rid themselves of the habit of waiting for directives from the top. Some prefer staging rallies and meetings to painstaking work with the masses.

Kuhat Khan, a former colonel in the royal army and chairman of the Nangarhar provincial extraordinary commission for national reconciliation, is enraged by the red tape and chaos in relief distribution.

"The enemy is taking advantage of our omissions, clumsiness and inertia," he said. He had a point.

And yet the necessary combination of staunchness and flexibility is more and more often to be observed. My impression is that the main political result of the hundred days since the ceasefire was announced is that large masses of Afghan people have embraced the idea of national reconciliation as the main road to peace in their long-suffering land. Already, the early elements of a future government coalition are emerging from contacts between the extraordinary commissions with groups of today's enemies.

All this, however, is only the beginning of a difficult undertaking.

Kabul, April

Li Dazhao was not even 38 years old when he died, but he had achieved much in his short life of questing and struggle. He took part in the 1911-13 revolution, and when it was defeated he moved to Japan to study at the economics department of Waseda University. There he became acquainted with various trends in foreign social thought, and the Russian, West European and Japanese socialist movements. Among those who influenced his outlook was Japanese Socialist Hajime Kawakami, the first translator of Marx's "Capital" into Japanese.

The knowledge and broader outlook he acquired stood the young man in good stead when, on his return to China, he began to work with progressive publications. The gifted young journalist who was not afraid to put forward his fresh progressive ideas was noticed by the rector of Peking University, Cai Yuanpei, a prominent scholar and public figure. In 1918 he invited Li Dazhao to head the university library, and later to teach political economy.

Under the influence of the Great October Revolution, Li Dazhao quickly and confidently moved from revolutionary democratism to scientific socialism. He saw in the Russian revolution an example the Chinese people were destined to follow. "We should proudly welcome the Russian revolution as the light of a new world civilization," wrote Li Dazhao. "We must closely follow developments in the new Russia, which is being built on the principles of freedom and humanism. Only then shall we keep pace with world progress."

Sun Yatsen, the leader of the Chinese revolutionary democracy, commented favourably on Li Dazhao's article "The Victory of Bolshevism" (1918). A year later the two men met for the first time. After that they met many times and kept up comradely relations.

Li Dazhao was one of the organizers and leaders of the mass anti-imperialist, democratic May 4 Movement that spread through China in 1919. It was initiated by Peking students and supported by wide sections of the population. The movement spread quickly to other Chinese cities. And it was as a result of this movement that the Chinese proletariat entered the arena of political struggle. Therein lies its historical significance.

In 1920 Li Dazhao, together with his pupil and comrade-in-arms Deng Zhongxia, organized May Day celebrations by the Chinese workers and in the autumn of that year, helped by a delegation from the Comintern led by the Soviet Communist Grigory Voytinsky, set up the first Marxist circle in Peking. In a bitter ideological struggle

A life dedicated to revolution

Li Dazhao—a pioneer of the communist movement in China

In the spring of 1927 soldiers and secret police agents of Zhang Zuolin, the militarist who ruled Northern China, broke into the Soviet embassy in Peking. When they left, they took with them Communists and left-wing Guomindang followers who had sought refuge in the embassy from the counterrevolutionary terror. Among them was Li Dazhao, one of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. On April 28, after appalling torture, Li Dazhao and his comrades in the revolutionary struggle were slowly strangulated. Li Dazhao's last words, thrown 60 years ago in the face of his executioners, were: "You've strangled me today, but you won't be able to strangle communism! Long live the Chinese Communist Party!"

Li Dazhao (left) and Sun Yatsen returning from a session of the First Guomindang Congress.

against bourgeois reformists and anarchists Li Dazhao defended a revolutionary course of development for China. He wrote the first detailed biography of Lenin in Chinese. It was timed to the founding congress of the Chinese Communist Party that took place in July 1921. After the party was established, Li Dazhao became secretary of its northern bureau, and from 1922 until his tragic death he was a member of the party's Central Committee.

Li Dazhao played an important part in organizing a strike at the Peking-Hankou railway on February 7, 1923, which greatly influenced the growth of the working-class movement in China.

He contributed considerably to the setting up of the united national-revolutionary front based on cooperation between the Communist Party and the Guomindang, and participated in the reorganization of the Guomindang led by Sun Yatsen and in the drafting of its new programme. Li Dazhao was the first Chinese Communist to join the Guomindang and at its 1924 congress was elected to its Central Executive Committee.

The news of Lenin's death came while the congress was in session, and Li Dazhao reacted with his article "Lenin Is Immortal." "Lenin's death is a truly immense loss for all mankind and especially for us Chinese who have lost a great friend," he wrote. "Lenin has died, but his spirit lives on."

In the summer of 1924 Li Dazhao visited Moscow. He headed the delegation of the Chinese Communist Party to the 5th Congress of the Comintern. His participation in the international forum of Communists left him with many impressions, and strengthened his Marxist-Leninist convictions, the spirit of proletarian internationalism. On his return home he not only passionately fostered Marxist-Leninist teachings, but was the first to develop them to suit conditions in China. His selected works published in the People's Republic of China include more than 420 articles and speeches. They offer an opportunity to follow the evolution of his outlook and his inspired revolutionary pathos. Lu Xin wrote: "Li Dazhao's works will live through the ages, as they are the heritage of a progressive fighter, and a monument to the revolution."

On May 1, 1927, the Executive of the Comintern issued a special statement in connection with the execution of Li Dazhao and his comrades in which it angrily denounced their murderers. "Today," the statement said, "on May Day—the day of international workers' solidarity—working people of all countries will come out onto the streets to show the world their fraternal sympathy with the great Chinese revolution, which is advancing with difficulty and strenuous effort to full and final victory."

The Chinese revolution took its course. Today in China the memory of those who gave their lives for the triumph of great ideas is revered. Not only are Li Dazhao's scientific and political articles published in China today, but also his poetry, as well as many reminiscences of him and surveys of his work. All the year round fresh flowers are to be seen on the grave stone of the memorial at Wanan Cemetery in Peking, with the words of Deng Xiaoping: "May the memory of the pioneer of the communist movement, great Marxist and passionate patriot Li Dazhao live for ever."

BORIS BORODIN

A flare-up of U.S.-Japan trade war highlighted problems that have long been piling up in the relations of the two leading Western powers. They go beyond the bounds of trade ties into the realm of emotions.

Japan rediscovered for the third time

YURI TAVROVSKY

A procession is weaving its way through the streets of the old seaside town of Shimoda. It is headed by U.S. marines in full-dress uniform and a band that is playing so loudly it seems to be intent on making the one-storey houses tumble down like the walls of Jericho. The U.S. marines are followed by Japanese seamen, by boy scouts, and open-top cars carrying the city's mayor, who keeps bowing, the American ambassador and American and Japanese admirals nodding wearily.

The legacy of Commodore Perry

Each year Shimoda is the venue of a festival in honour of Commodore Mathew Perry, whose squadron was the first to reach Japanese shores in 1853. The commodore's initial task was to persuade the local authorities to desist from their practice of killing seamen from shipwrecked American whalers in keeping with the policy of isolationism that Japan had pursued for almost three centuries. Aware of the impression produced by his steamships armed with long-range guns, Perry returned the following year to force the Japanese government to sign a treaty giving American ships access to the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate, and opening Japan to the outside world.

Foreigners see an element of masochism in honouring the commodore who "opened up" Japan with the help of guns. There was something odd, too, about the ceremony in which the Japanese emperor awarded the Order of the Rising Sun to General Curtis Le May, whose B-29 bombers burned up Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka, Nagoya and other Japanese cities in the spring of 1945.

Japan, of course, does not forget or forgive offence. Memories live on of the brutal treatment Japanese immigrants received in the U.S. in the late 19th century, the internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans during the second world war, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and other dark pages in the history of U.S.-Japanese relations.

Why, then, this strange forbearance? The answer lies in the concerted, generously financed and skilfully organized efforts to create in Japan a favourable image of the United States, its policy and way of life. These efforts began during the American occupation when it was forbidden to erect monuments to those who died in American air raids, or to make films and write books about Hiroshima and Nagasaki. American policy-makers even then described leniency to war criminals as "mercy" and the placing of orders with Japanese factories for the war in Korea as "generosity." The country was flooded with the symbols of the American way of life—Coca-Cola, chewing gum and Hollywood thrillers. The Japanese assimilated 20th-century mass culture as avidly as they adopted foreign clothes, hair styles and manners during the "first discovery" of Japan in the mid-19th century. Behind the enthusiasm in both cases was the desire "to catch up" with the West and become as strong as the victors, which became a national strategy. The underlying logic was simple: if the pilots of the Flying Fortresses played baseball and chewed gum, those who wanted to rise from the postwar ruins should do likewise.

It was relatively easy to maintain positive stereotypes of America during the years when the U.S. was economically, financially and technologically superior to Japan.

The Japanese, steeped in "economic thinking" and prone to evaluate a nation's prestige in terms of its GNP, watched the statistics of U.S. economic performance with respect. Japanese engineers and scientists went to the States to study, reverently memorizing and transcribing every word uttered by their overseas colleagues.

The idea of American superiority became ingrained in the mass consciousness. Owning an unwieldy Cadillac was a symbol of success in the business world. Knowledge of the latest American scientific theories and Broadway hits was de rigeur among scientists and intellectuals. There was a craze for learning English, especially the American variety. Illiterate and often ambiguous inscriptions on clothes for the young ensured profits for the makers of "foreign-look rags." Broadcasts of the American forces radio station in Japan, Reader's Digest, Playboy, Fortune and other American magazines became immensely popular.

However, the image began to change, slowly, in the 1960s. The first crack appeared after the dollar came off the gold standard. Since 1965 Japanese companies have been delighted and surprised to discover that they were in the black in their annual trade with the U.S. The defeat in Vietnam dealt a heavy blow to U.S. prestige.

Five years ago, when I began my tour of duty in Japan, the thinking of my fellow-journalists, of businessmen and scientists was still dominated by the worship of America. All the more startling were the words I once heard from a history professor at a very conservative university: "There is no doubt about the future of America. It was described two hundred years ago by Edward Gibbon in his classic 'The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' We have not only become aware of this, but are preparing for the tricky and dangerous period of the collapse of the Pax Americana, the American world order."

Decline and fall

The comparison of the U.S. with the great empires of the past—the Roman and the British—was a recurring motif in the early 1980s.

There is a quotation from "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" in an article in the Japan Times by the writer Masateru Tachibana, which reads in part: "When the formerly subordinate territories grew strong, became more independent and, finally, began rejecting their role as providers of goods and mercenary soldiers to Rome, the empire had no measure of power at hand to arrest these moves of the imperial decline which followed. Despite the deceptive grandeur it managed to maintain, Rome by now was a mere political and military shell being eaten away internally by an advanced form of decadence." Lest the reader have any doubts as to whom he has in mind, the author explains: "Japan has built a technological base firm enough to support its growth as an industrial nation. In contrast, the United States has been getting on somewhat indifferently these days.... For about ten years now America has been reducing its industrial base to a shell. A good example of this process is the U.S. steel industry. It

fell decisively behind its counterpart in Japan in both the volume of production and the level of technology. The next victim was automobiles.... The Reagan Administration's invitation extended to Japan, the U.K., West Germany, Israel and even South Korea to join the SDI programme can make sense only when it is assessed in the context of this American decline."

In 1986 Japan reported a $59,000 million surplus in its trade with the U.S. All told, Japanese exports to the U.S. have grown by nearly 130 per cent over the last five years, while U.S. exports to Japan have increased by a mere 10 per cent. By the beginning of the next century Japan is expected to have outstripped America in its GNP and to top the list of the world's mightiest capitalist powers.

Reflecting on the causes for the "American decline" in the pages of the journal Chuo Koron, Kenjiro Hayashi, a well-known economist, writes: "The trend towards debilitation is gradually spreading from resource to manufacturing industries, from conventional to high technology, from industry to agri-

Who will make the rules of the game!
Photo from Japan Echo magazine

culture. The process of degeneration is gnawing at the vital organs of the American economy, turning the country into a debtor, and siphoning off incomes from the internal market. Even leaving aside the classic examples of entire industries going bankrupt (textiles, steel), we see a growing trade deficit in such sectors as automobiles and electrical appliances. Japanese goods are firmly lodged in American homes, and have captured the lion's share of the market in video cassette recorders, cameras, stereo equipment, record players and video discs. Even the famous science-intensive technologies see their trade surplus shrinking, and the manufacturers of electrical equipment and research instruments are already in the red. Most units and parts for American personal computers are made in Japan or other countries, a situation that symbolizes the penetration of foreign goods into the very heart of American industry. Soon nothing will be left of it but an empty shell."

Masanori Moritani, a researcher with the Nomura Institute, the brains trust of big business, sees another major cause of the decline of American industry in its militarization. "America," he writes in the magazine Voice, "has poured tremendous resources into defence and aerospace but is falling behind in applications in the civilian sector; as a result it is having a hard time fending off Japan.... It is also plagued by a serious shortage of researchers and engineers in private industry because the cream of the crop is skimmed off by defence and aerospace. America's sophisticated aerospace and defence technology will have no appreciable effect on the civilian sector, at least for the time being. And the basic research now under way will also have but a small impact on industry during this decade.... Japan has of course been devoting most of its energy to mass-produced consumer and industrial goods. The thrust of this concentrated energy piercing America's soft underbelly, has quite naturally drawn an anguished cry of pain."

Elsewhere he writes: "The Western reaction to Japan went through a number of stages, from initial surprise to the urge to learn from Japan's example to frustration at failing to catch up despite such efforts, and finally to fear. If the current trend continues, there will be an eruption of anger."

The eruption of anger predicted by the Japanese researcher has already begun. It is impotent anger that often takes pathetic and laughable forms. Unemployed people "bury" Japanese cars, those who buy Japanese goods are booed, and service is refused to Japanese and other immigrants from the Far East. There is a hugely successful industry of books and articles about a "Japanese conspiracy against America." The racist film "Year of the Dragon," a box office hit, tells of a Vietnam war veteran who prevents the establishment of a "yellow kingdom" in New York.

Opinion polls show growing anti-Japanese sentiments. In a Gallup poll conducted in March 1986, some 29 per cent of intellectuals and other "better-informed Americans" said that "the rise of Japan as an economic superpower now constitutes a threat to American interests." In a survey of businessmen conducted by the Wall Street Journal, 70 per cent of those questioned said they favoured restrictions on imports from Japan. A poll of executives in 600 major U.S. corporations conducted by Business Week revealed that over 70 per cent of the captains of industry consider the Japanese rivals "dishonest" and believe they are violating the norms of international trade. Edwin Reischauer, former U.S. ambassador to Japan, has said: "Japan's economic success has in fact created such an imbalance in the world economy as to threaten the collapse of the whole system of free trade."

"Japanese only"

America's painful reaction to losing out in the race and Washington's threats are causing resentment in Japan. "We've got to get rid of the vicious circle of the U.S. attacking Japan, Japan responding, the U.S. saying it hasn't done enough and attacking again," say Foreign Ministry officials quoted by the Asahi newspaper.

Osamu Shimomura, author of several books on financial matters, fumes in the pages of the magazine Next: "Forty years after World War II, we are still unable to shake off our subjugation to the United States. We still cringe when America shouts. But America has lost its capacity for level-headed judgement and is presenting absurd demands. Perhaps it is about time we began telling it what's what." Irritation over constant American pressure in the trade, financial, military and other fields is laced with chauvinism and racism aimed against all people of European stock. Already there have appeared "Japanese Only" restaurants.

Quoting an anonymous Japanese author, Robert Keatley, editor of the Hongkong Asian Wall Street Journal, describes the distribution of roles in a future world in the following terms: "Some ... Japanese see Europe as a boutique, America as a farm and Australia as a quarry—all serving Japan, which has the world's only thriving technological society. The rest of the world remains a nice place to visit—Europe, for example, offers cultural monuments, good shopping and exotic sex—all at reasonable prices and all set in elegant stagnation."

I have heard a similar scenario in which America was cast as supplier of food and mercenary soldiers. "Americans kept saying they had either to arm themselves to the teeth or learn Russian. They have made their choice and let them now pay for it by guarding the gates of the Japanese home and learning the language of its inhabitants." This from a political scientist close to the ruling party.

While the Japanese elite is developing a national strategy for the 21st century and assessing the rate of "America's decline" and ways of taking advantage of it, the mass of the people are changing their ideas of the U.S. in terms of their everyday lives. Status-conscious Japanese now prefer West European cars to expensive and unreliable American ones. Goods with the stars and stripes label are in low demand in the supermarkets. Young people are less interested in American culture. Shrinking readership has caused the closure of the Japanese edition of Reader's Digest, which had been published in the country for 40 years. Those who return from trips to the U.S. write to newspapers about the stark contrast between wealth and poverty, the unfriendliness of the Americans, and inferior service. Newspapers and TV regularly report murders, rapes and beatings of Japanese tourists and students in the U.S. The behaviour of American servicemen and their families stationed at numerous bases in Japan also contributes to debunking the "American way of life."

The increasingly negative image of the United States is being built up, particularly over the past few years, by assiduously instilling ideas of "Japan's

Western Sahara tangle

More often than not people learn of events in Western Sahara from military communiqués. In the first months of this year they reported an increase in the hostilities between armed units of the POLISARIO front—the leading political organization in the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (S.A.D.R.)—and the Moroccan army.

In its communiqués the Information Ministry of the S.A.D.R. speaks of attacks carried out by West Saharan fighters, and of the number of Moroccan soldiers put out of action. Simultaneously, from the Moroccan capital there are reports of successful operations against POLISARIO units.

The war in Western Sahara could be described as a so-called local conflict. However, in our time the distinction between the concepts "local" and "regional" has been all but eroded, and the imperialist powers can at any moment declare any region "a zone of their vital interests."

To recapitulate briefly on how the conflict originated. In 1966 the 21st session of the U.N. General Assembly recommended the holding of a referendum in the Spanish Sahara, which was about to be decolonized. This was designed to give the population—about 100,000 in all—the chance to determine their own destiny. Subsequent sessions adopted similar resolutions. Initially, Morocco and Mauritania agreed to such an approach. But in 1975 they made a direct claim to the territory, referring to their "historical rights." By that time in Western Sahara itself the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro (or the POLISARIO front), a patriotic organization founded two years earlier, had become the most influential force.

In November 1975, a Spanish-Moroccan-Mauritanian agreement was signed in Madrid, under which, after the withdrawal of Spain from Western Sahara, the territory was to be divided without any referendum between Morocco and Mauritania. At the end of 1975 Moroccan and Mauritanian troops entered the respective zones. Supported by the population, the POLISARIO front, which in the past had fought the Spanish colonialists, launched a strong resistance movement against the new authorities, and demanded national independence.

On February 27, 1976, the National Provisional Council and the POLISARIO front proclaimed the formation of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. A constitution was adopted and a president and leading bodies elected. And although Morocco claims that the POLISARIO leadership is based in the territory of Algeria, in the area of the Western Sahara refugee camps, the international prestige of the S.A.D.R. is invariably increasing. Today 69 countries have recognized the republic, including most of the independent countries of Africa. It was thanks to their votes that the republic was made a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1982.

The POLISARIO front founded the Saharan National Liberation Army (SNLA), which, according to some estimates, numbers more than 15,000 men. It is helped, as is the S.A.D.R. as a whole, by Algeria (Libya too gave help up to 1983 when it signed a treaty of alliance with Morocco, which was scrapped in 1986).

After the 1978 coup in Mauritania, that country renounced its claims to the southern part of Western Sahara. Morocco immediately annexed the entire territory. Since then the conflict has continued unabated.

Morocco keeps a 70,000-strong army (about a third of its armed forces) in Western Sahara, and is pursuing a policy of active "Moroccanization." Desert it may be, but Western Sahara is rich in mineral resources (phosphorites, iron and copper ores, manganese, potassium salts and uranium). In the past few years, aided by the West, Morocco has built a system of fortifications in the key areas, complete with radar posts, stretching for about 2,000 kilometres. Five such "walls" have been completed, and a sixth is under construction. SNLA units replied by declaring a war of attrition and are dealing blows at Moroccan troops, often penetrating the "walls."

The long years of armed conflict have already cost thousands of lives. The war is having an increasingly adverse effect on the social and economic position of the peoples involved. Morocco's military expenditure (up to 30-40 per cent of the budget) has resulted in a financial and socio-economic crisis. The country's foreign debt now totals $18 billion. Unemployment and inflation are rising. The authorities are finding it increasingly difficult to cope with the mounting social tension.

exclusiveness," a "return to the traditional moral values" and the "revival of sound nationalism." This trend is supported from above with the result that xenophobia, which all but disappeared after the war, is again becoming strongly felt. Not only Japanese technology, but the Japanese way of life as well are being increasingly prominently featured in the media.

The volume of Japanese-American relations in the political, economic, military, scientific and other fields is still impressive. The indications are that it will remain so in the foreseeable future, given the common strategic class interests of the ruling quarters in the two countries and Japan's economic dependence on the U.S. More likely than not, American marines in dress uniform will continue to be an attraction for tourists in the narrow streets of Shimoda, the silent witness of the "first discovery of Japan." American military bases will be reminders of "the second discovery" of Japan, which began in August 1945. But profound changes are taking place inside the country which has achieved the goal it set itself more than a century ago of "catching up with the West," and now is out to outstrip it.

Tokyo—Moscow

Appeals to strengthen "the domestic front" are of less and less avail.

Meanwhile the conflict over the Western Sahara is being used actively by the imperialist forces, especially the United States, to divide the Arab and African peoples and involve Morocco and other countries in aggressive strategic plans. Taking advantage of Rabat's dependence on American military and other aid, the Reagan administration in May 1982 won an agreement from King Hassan II on the possible use of bases in Moroccan territory by its Rapid Deployment Force. In November 1986, joint American-Moroccan manoeuvres were carried out off the southern shores of Morocco. They involved the aircraft carrier John Kennedy and Marine forces. In December 1986, American Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger visited Rabat for a meeting of the mixed Moroccan-American military commission. The weekly Al-Anwal pointed to the danger that the privileges the Pentagon had won for itself in Morocco could be used to the detriment of Arab interests.

The world community, and particularly the African countries, have repeatedly tried to break the Western Sahara impasse. Thus, when King Hassan II agreed to hold a referendum, the 18th session of the assembly of the Organization of African Unity (1981) set up a special committee to draw up conditions for the referendum. This was done. And at its 19th session, in 1983, the OAU assembly passed a decision on the holding of talks between Rabat and the POLISARIO front on a cease-fire and the organization of the referendum under international supervision. Rabat, however, invariably refused to take part in such talks. And when in 1984 the 20th session of the OAU assembly ratified the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic's membership of the Organization, Morocco walked out. This blocked any efforts the Organization might have made to influence Rabat.

In the spring of 1986 "indirect" talks were held in New York, through the good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General and OAU representatives, between the delegations of Morocco and the POLISARIO front (representatives of Algeria and Mauritania attended as observers). However, it proved impossible to bring the positions of the two sides closer together. Morocco has refused categorically to withdraw its troops and administration from Western Sahara for the period of the referendum as the other side demands. Moreover, in the autumn of 1986 Rabat announced that its representatives would no longer take part in any U.N.-sponsored discussions of the problem of Western Sahara.

Again an impasse has been reached. From the beginning of this year guerrillas of the Saharan National Liberation Army have stepped up action against the garrisons and posts of the Moroccan army. Once again relations between Algeria and Morocco have deteriorated sharply.

In the Soviet Union, developments in Northwest Africa are followed with disquiet and dismay. The Soviet Union desires and maintains good relations with all countries in the region. This determines our considered and balanced stand on the problem of Western Sahara. The Soviet Union stands for the complete decolonization of Western Sahara and supports the right of its people to a free expression of their will and to self-determination. That is why the U.S.S.R. has voted in the U.N. for all resolutions confirming this right. At the same time, obviously reluctant to provide the imperialist forces with a pretext for internationalizing the conflict, the Soviet Union is showing discretion as befits a great power and has refrained from giving official recognition to the S.A.D.R.

The problem of Western Sahara should be resolved by peaceful, political means, with due regard for the interests of all sides involved in the conflict. And, of course, without any outside interference, especially military. The Soviet Union is not adding fuel to the Western Sahara fire. That is well known to all, including Rabat, where attempts are nevertheless made from time to time to use the problem of Western Sahara as a pretext for undermining traditionally friendly Soviet-Moroccan relations.

It is imperative that the dangerous tension in Northwest Africa be defused as quickly as possible. The long drawn-out fratricidal conflict in Western Sahara is playing into the hands of imperialist circles. By setting the peoples of the Maghreb against one another, they are attempting to win control of the whole strategically important region, which includes the Eastern Atlantic, North Africa and the Mediterranean.

KONSTANTIN ANDREYEV

FEELING THE SEISMIC PULSE OF THE PLANET

How the law of seismotectonics helps predict earthquakes

Quake-causing faults in the earth's crust are constantly forming in various parts of the globe where the process of intensive mountain-building is still in progress. Our country's seismically active areas are the entire south, from the Carpathians to the Trans-Baikal region, and the Far East. They undergo huge numbers of imperceptible underground tremors from year to year. Medium-amplitude tremors are far less frequent, and catastrophic earthquakes strike every three or four years on average.

Igor Gubin, D.Sc. (Geology and Mineralogy), corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, has been studying geological structures and their earthquake-precipitating faults in various regions, including Tajikistan, for over half a century. His findings have enabled him to discover a numerically constant dependence of earthquakes on the sizes and types of seismogenic structures (blocks making up the earth's crust). This universal dependence has come to be known as the Gubin law of seismotectonics. It has brought with it not only entirely new methods of forecasting various earthquake elements, but also new-type multicomponent maps of seismic zoning with likely earthquake sources indicated. These maps have proved very useful to the national economy. The new maps have won expert recognition in various countries because they help define a relatively narrow seismic zone, the exact location of a coming earthquake within it, the size of its focus, tremor amplitude and recurrence rate, and radius. The Gubin law was registered as a major scientific discovery on April 25, 1985, by the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries.

Our reporter asked Igor Gubin to comment on the present state and potential of seismology.

N.T.: Dr Gubin, what techniques for studying earthquakes are used today?

Gubin: I'll put it briefly. One technique is to register underground tremors at special stations by means of seismographs. This is the job of experts in instrumental seismology who draw up seismotectonic maps with epicentres indicated and determine, by means of seismograms, the earthquake source mechanism.

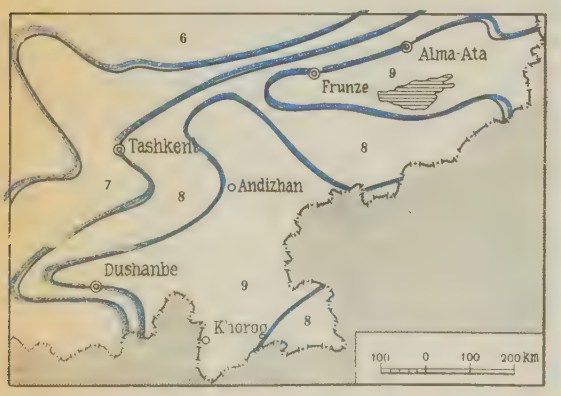
Tremor seismograms alone, however, are of no use in forecasting earthquakes because most of the potential foci of likely calamities have not yet manifested themselves. There is another technique for studying underground tremors. Experts in macroseismic seismology analyze the destructive consequences of earthquakes in various places and determine their magnitude in this way in accordance with the intensity scale accepted in the U.S.S.R. (with magnitudes running from 0 to 12). Proceeding from the data obtained, they draw up maps on which points of equal seismic wave shock intensities around the focus are connected by isoseismic lines (isoseists). Taken separately, such maps are of no use in forecasting earthquakes. Experts in tectonic seismology, which is my speciality, draw up maps of active geological structures and seismogenic faults. Using these maps, supplemented with seismic data, they determine the geological conditions that precipitate earthquakes in the region and locate the likely source zones by active faults. These zones include both registered and potential foci.

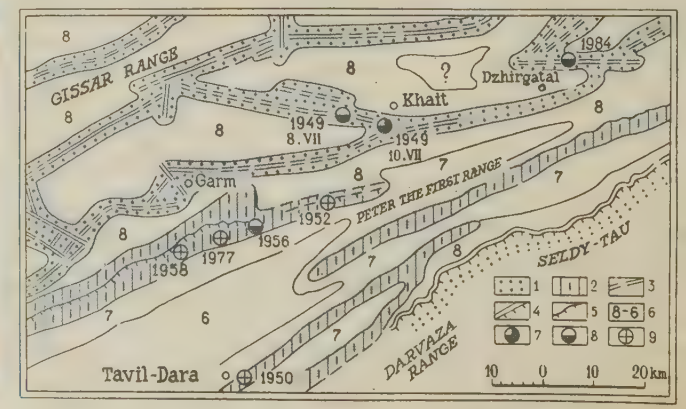
N.T.: What purpose do the maps of seismic zones serve?

Gubin: They help select sites for earthquake-proof housing developments and, in the final analysis, save human lives and keep buildings and other structures intact. Until quite recently the charting of seismic-zone maps was the responsibility of experts in instrumental seismology who proceed only from registered earthquakes of certain intensities (Fig. 1). Such maps contain scant information and have not justified themselves because intense earthquakes usually occur in places other than the seismic zones charted on them. At the same time, many perfectly safe areas were erroneously marked "earthquake-prone." This is due to the mistaken premise that registered earthquakes alone are enough to go by in forecasting, and that intense tremors may occur in any part of a seismic zone.

N.T.: How is it that the honorary title of Honoured Scientific Worker of Tajikistan has been conferred on you a Leningrader by birth?

Gubin: Back in 1931, when still a student at the Leningrad Mining Institute, I was enrolled in the Tajik combined expedition of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences organized by Academician Nikolai Gorbunov, a prominent statesman and scientist who had been chief of the office of the Council of People's Commissars in Lenin's time. I worked there till 1937, and in





1938 Vladimir Komarov, President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, instructed me to set up the Academy's geological sector in Dushanbe, Tajikistan. I did geological research in the mountains of Tajikistan until 1956. Over that period, geological maps of many seismically active zones in South Central Asia were compiled, the key zones of active deep-seated faults located, the consequences of 25 intense earthquakes studied, isoseismic maps of them drawn up, and the geological factors of their precipitation ascertained.

The data obtained in the process (and supplied from other countries) not only corroborated the idea of earthquakes being associated with faults, voiced by the outstanding geologists Edward Suess and Ivan Mushketov back in the last century, but also helped discover a hitherto unknown connection between earthquakes, on the one hand, and certain geological structures and active faults, on the other. This discovery has made it possible to predict earthquakes and delineate seismic zones more accurately.

N.T.: In what ways has this discovery enriched the theory of earthquakes?

Gubin: The discovery has made it clear that efficient protective measures can only be taken upon establishing the specific causes of destructive earthquakes and the seismotectonic laws underlying their source mechanism.

Information on the earthquakes registered to date does not reflect the whole variety of seismotectonic processes and is insufficient for seismic zoning. The focus of an earthquake is not a hypocentre, a point within the earth's crust, as many experts in instrumental seismology believe; shock waves propagate from the fracture (fault) caused by the differential displacement of rock around it. The fault zones vary in length, throw and dip. Very intense earthquakes occur in seismogenic fault zones only, which are from tens to thousands of kilometres long and contain both manifest and latent sources. Intense earthquakes migrate along such a fault. They occur not throughout the fault-zone length all at once, but alternately in various parts of it, mostly in the so-called "seismic gaps" where they haven't previously occurred (Fig. 3). The recurrence rate of intense earthquakes depends on the speed of block propagation along the fractures. The higher the speed, the more frequent the tremors. And the main thing: in accordance with the seismotectonic law the length and depth of the sources of maximum-intensity earthquakes likely to occur in a given zone, and their magnitude, depend on the sizes and types of the geological structures that move sharply relative to each other on either side of a fault.

N.T.: What practical uses can the new law be put to?

Gubin: If you know the sizes of seismogenic geological structures, you can use this law to determine the parameters of maximum-intensity earthquakes likely to occur in the given zone, and their possible recurrence rate in various parts of the zone. I drew up the first multicomponent tectonic map for the Garm Region in Tajikistan back in 1948 (Fig. 2). It was followed by similar maps for the southern and central regions of Tajikistan, southwestern Turkmenia, and some parts of India.

My seismologist colleagues have compiled similar maps of other 18 southern and Far Eastern regions from the Crimea to Kamchatka. Over the almost forty years since then 23 destructive earthquakes have occurred in the mapped parts of Soviet Central Asia and India; their locations and parameters have been exactly as forecast. Such amazing accuracy is due to the fact that in forecasting earthquakes we proceed from the nature of local seismogenic geological processes.

N.T.: How is all this information being brought to the notice of the scientific community?

Gubin: Seven of my monographs and dozens of articles have been printed in the U.S.S.R. At the invitation of Japanese organizations I delivered a one-year course of lectures in Tokyo, now published in Japan in book form under the title "Basic Problems of Seismotectonics." Another of my books, "Earthquakes and the Seismic Zoning of the Indian Subcontinent," has come out in Delhi in English. In Peking, a Chinese translation of my book "The Problems of the Seismotectonic Method of Seismic Zoning" has been published. A map of Vietnam's seismic zones, with potential earthquake sources indicated, has been drawn up in that country. An intense earthquake did occur in one of such danger zones. Since 1965 Soviet, American and Japanese scientists have been identifying potential fault zones in the outskirts of the Pacific and forecasting the locations and intensity of tremors on the basis of our research.

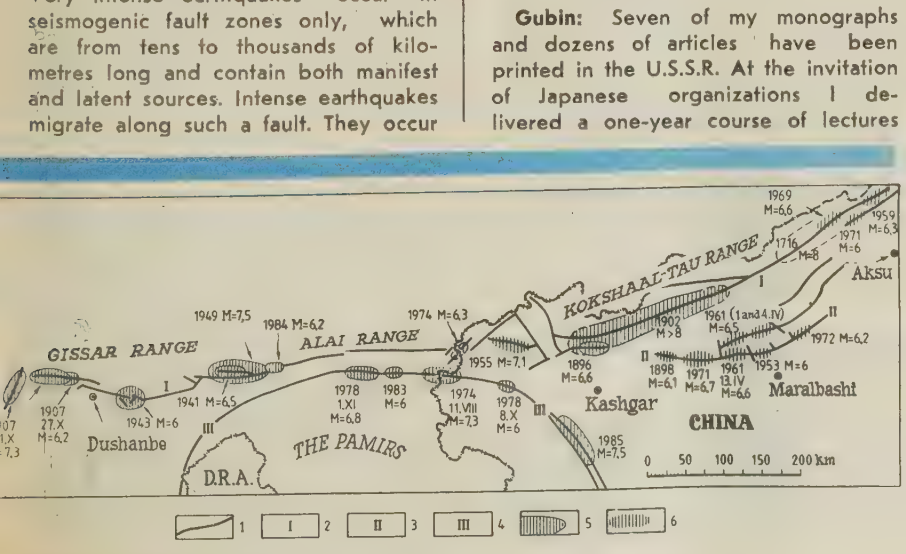
In 1951 the seismotectonic (genetic) method was assessed by the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences as a major advance in assessing seismic situations and recommended for practical use instead of the seismic methods of mapping which were pronounced inadequate, inapplicable to regions where no intense tremors had hitherto been recorded, and unfit for large-scale seismic zoning.

N.T.: What is your view of the prospects of seismology?

Gubin: For want of magazine space, I shall confine myself to seismic zoning. Our sole objective is to go on identifying and studying seismogenic zones. The law of seismotectonics can afford us an insight into other, still obscure laws essential to still more accurate earthquake forecasting. It is already possible to forecast, right on a building site, the parameters of impending maximum-intensity tremors on the basis of the length and type of a seismogenic fault. This is very important for seismic stability analysis in construction.

The short-term symptoms of imminent earthquakes ought to be looked for not all over the place, as many instrumental seismology experts have long been doing, but in seismogenic zones, especially in the "seismic gaps." Chinese scientists followed this principle when they singled out, in Liaoning Province, a seismic fault zone that showed signs of an intense earthquake coming. And sure enough, the destructive Haicheng earthquake of a 7.3 magnitude did occur there on February 4, 1975, within seven hours of being predicted.

And one last comment. Although science has still to discover whether any "earthquake schedule" exists, the task now is to forecast earthquakes as accurately as possible (their locations, at least, if not exact dates) so as to minimize the damage they have been doing to date. ■



CITIES SHAKE HANDS

A TV correspondent from the F.R.G. conducted an experiment in Tbilisi. He stopped passersby in Rustaveli Avenue and asked them all the same question: "Do you know anything about Saarbrücken?" It turned out that the residents of the Georgian capital did know a good deal about the main city of Saarland, could name places of interest in it, along with its writers and artists. The correspondent carried on until he finally chanced on a girl who failed to answer the question. It turned out, though, that she was a visitor to Tbilisi herself.

I am sure that in Saarbrücken, too, there are few people who have never heard of the capital of Georgia. One of the main squares there is named Tbilisi, and street name plates are in German, Russian and Georgian. And whichever side you drive into Saarbrücken from, you will see a poster depicting the emblem of Saarbrücken next to those of its twin cities—Tbilisi and Nantes (France).

Saarbrücken and Tbilisi were the first cities in our two countries to sign a twinned town agreement 13 years ago. Since then links between them have become permanent and varied. Georgia Weeks in Saarbrücken and Saar Weeks in Tbilisi have become traditional. On other occasions too Georgian art groups perform in Saarbrücken, and Saar, in Tbilisi. The two cities regulary exchange radio programmes. A selection of new Georgian poems has come out in Saarbrücken; Georgian poets are busy translating works by their German colleagues. Tbilisi professors are to deliver lectures on Georgian philology in Saarbrücken as part of a cooperation programme between the two cities' universities. Last but not least, Saarbrücken and Tbilisi maintain sports and tourist exchanges.

Today 26 more cities in the F.R.G. and the Soviet Union have been "twinned": Hamburg and Leningrad, Bremen and Riga, Osnabrück and Kalinin, Mainz and Baku, Kiel and Tallinn, Dortmund and Rostov-on-Don, to name only a few. They have accumulated interesting experience of cooperation. Representatives of the twinned cities had their first meeting in Saarbrücken recently to pool this experience. Envoys from cities that are only considering establishing friendly contacts—Kassel and Yaroslavl, Wiesbaden and Yerevan, Salzgitter and Stary Oskol, Rotenburg and Suzdal—were also present.

Guests from Saarland in Tbilisi, with the ancient Metekhi castle in the background.

TASS photo

The opening speech at the meeting was made by Oskar Lafontaine, Minister-President of Saarland, who signed the partnership agreement with Tbilisi when he was Saarbrücken's burgomaster. He reminded the audience that intercity twinning had become possible after the signing of the U.S.S.R.-F.R.G. agreement in Moscow in 1970. The policy of détente at the top was backed by grass-roots initiatives. As Lafontaine put it, intercity cooperation is as much a part of the infrastructure of détente as are economic links and cultural exchanges.

Many speakers at the meeting stressed that intercity partnership was a component of the peace movement. It draws people closer together, helps remove bias and mistrust. The joint communiqué of the meeting pointed out, with good reason, that the Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik had marked a breakthrough in the effort for nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, the hope was expressed that persistent work for a radical cutback in and elimination of nuclear weapons would ultimately bring positive results.

Much was said in Saarbrücken about openness and restructuring in the Soviet Union. Christian Democrat mayor of Biberach, Claus-Wilhelm Hoffman, made an emotional speech.

"Some people say here that restructuring is just so much eyewash meant to impress the West," he said. "But I am convinced of the sincerity of this policy. Gorbachev is doing what he really thinks necessary. There is no alternative to confidence building."

The speeches made in Saarbrücken's Congress House did not please certain quarters in the F.R.G. The joint communiqué riled the right-wing press. The newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine commented that Soviet and West German participants were at cross-purposes—an obvious case of wishful thinking. The former, it alleged, wanted support for Soviet disarmament proposals so as to be able "to bring pressure to bear on the F.R.G. government" and, using the links of twinship, gain access to West German technology; and the latter were only after "human contacts."

In fact, there was no conflict at all. No one opposed disarmament to economic cooperation. On the contrary, the two objectives were referred to as interconnected.

Contrary to Frankfurter Allgemeine's assertions, the F.R.G. participants displayed as eager an interest in promoting economic cooperation between the twinned cities as did their Soviet guests. Favourable conditions now exist for this. Large Soviet production amalgamations have been granted the right to transact business on the world market on their own; mixed enterprises are being set up. It was suggested at the meeting that the authorities in the twinned cities should play the role of go-betweens. This would particularly benefit small and medium West German companies which, as distinct from large concerns, have no special facilities to maintain foreign links. It was decided that this matter merits special notice.

After the meeting I asked its chief sponsor Hans-Jürgen Köbnick, mayor of Saarbrücken, whether he was satisfied with the results. He said he was, if only for the reason that the meeting had brought together representatives from all the twinned cities in the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G. for the first time and enabled them to compare notes. He had found the discussion of municipal matters most useful because it showed that the problems of industrial cities are largely similar. But, most important, cooperation is a prerequisite for a lasting peace. The more people cooperate, Köbnick said, the less grounds they have for shooting each other.

It was agreed that such meetings of representatives from the two countries' twinned cities should be held regularly. The next meeting is to take place in the Soviet Union in 1989.

ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent

Saarbrücken—Bonn

A fortress with open gates

Everything in this capital is discreet, modest and homely. Ministries occupy small buildings. The Grand Ducal palace is elegant, stern but unostentatious against the background of the other buildings. It is guarded, as far as I could see, by a solitary soldier whose rifle drills and marching up and down are a tourist attraction. The colourful tents in the market, where an unhurried trade in vegetables and flowers is in progress, come almost to the palace windows. In the cafés in Parade Square customers listen to a military band and scrutinize the colourful musicians in dark uniforms and tall bear hats.

Apple of discord

Because of its key strategic position, Luxemburg was for centuries an apple of discord between great powers. In its thousand-year-long history the country has been invaded more than twenty times. Crossing swords in or over Luxemburg were Burgundians, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Austrians and Prussians. Wars, sieges, fires and the plague were the lot of the country and the city. Peaceful years were few and far between.

Schoolchildren approach the National Solidarity Monument. The girls place flowers on the granite. The courageous people of Luxemburg did not succumb to the German fascists. A general strike under the slogan "We want to stay as we are" began in Luxemburg on August 31, 1942. These words have become the national motto.

It is said that the country's capital was built on rock. It would be more correct to say on underground bunkers surrounded by forts, towers and walls. Marshal Vauban, the unrivalled builder of fortifications in the service of the French King Louis XIV, turned the city into an impregnable citadel. Now children play in the shadow of the fortress walls. Elderly couples stroll around the remains of the Three Acorns Fort. Vendors sell fried potatoes near a watch tower perched almost on the edge of a cliff.

The 20th century has added its colours to the city. Tall banks and company buildings have appeared. The glass cubes of the EEC buildings gleam in the Kirschberg district. Bridges span the deep canyon of the River Petrusse. But on the whole Luxemburg has retained its old unique appearance.

Trump cards in trade wars

Yet the outward signs of leisure and comfort and the almost patriarchal lifestyle are deceptive. Luxemburg has its anxieties: how to survive in the competition with its incomparably bigger neighbours, how to sustain dynamic exports and support the relatively high standard of living. To a much greater extent than its neighbours, Luxemburg depends on factors beyond its control. Foreign trade accounts for 80 per cent of the GNP. But the situation on world markets is deteriorating. One trade war breaks out after another.

Luxemburg upper and lower town.

But Luxemburg has its trump cards as well. First of all, its modern industry and highly productive agrarian sector. It produces about four million tons of steel and almost three million tons of rolled stock a year, and all this of the highest quality.

Metal manipulators turn a giant red-hot blank. It moves slowly along the roller conveyer, turning from an ingot into an I beam almost a hundred metres in length. It will cross the Atlantic in a freight ship and become a support for the metal carcass of some new skyscraper in New York, Chicago or Dallas.

We are at a plant belonging to ARBED, one of the biggest metallurgical enterprises in Europe. For a long time it was in a slump. Over the past ten years capacity dropped by 25 per cent, and every other employee was sacked. Production is being restored slowly and painfully. The government invested in the company a big sum derived from a special tax levied for the needs of metallurgy. But it looks as if the turn for the better may not last. It is not that ARBED's output exceeds the country's needs. To this day the excessive capacities that are appearing everywhere, the drastic fall in prices, and Washington's protectionism are making themselves felt. 1987 promises to be a difficult year for the concern. The dismissal of about two thousand steelworkers is expected. But ARBED stays afloat thanks to the highest labour productivity in Europe and unsurpassed quality of output.

We were invited to Mersch, one of the centres of agriculture. The appearance of the town is determined by the agrocentre's grain elevator. It embodies here a new model of agricultural production. The centre buys milk and livestock from farmers and, in turn, supplies them with fodder. Every farmer has his

Month of Soviet-Indian friendship

The numerous events in the U.S.S.R. to mark the 40th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and India developed into a festival of Soviet-Indian friendship. The month of friendship featured rallies, gala meetings, exhibitions and film festivals.

Such events have long been a tradition in this country. They help Soviet people learn more about the life and culture of India and contribute to the mutual cultural enrichment of the two nations.

For six days new Indian feature films —"Past, Present and Future," "Mauri" and others—were shown in Moscow's Litva and Khudozhestvenny cinemas.

The Khudozhestvenny Cinema.
Photo by V. Panov

own containers in the elevator where temperature and humidity are automatically regulated. Meat processing is done entirely by machines. The production shops are amazingly clean. Productivity is extremely high. Thanks to this productivity, foreign rivals have not steamrolled Luxemburg's farmers.

In order to get the economy onto a firmer basis the government encourages economic diversification and attracts firms specializing in technology-intensive output to the Grand Duchy. The influx of foreign capital is facilitated by the Grand Duchy's location in the centre of Europe and financial and tax privileges.

Employment in metallurgy is shrinking. But the balance is maintained by the development of services, especially banking and insurance. Foreign firms are attracted by tax benefits, the confidentiality of bank accounts and the absence of dual taxation. Another attraction for foreign businessmen is that Luxemburg is a zone where all European currencies are freely exchanged as well as being a busy gold market. No value-added tax is levied on gold transactions. One hundred and twenty-two banks account for 15 per cent of the state's revenue. The new sector is flourishing but, given the general instability of the capitalist world's financial system, it is permanently vulnerable. There is always the likelihood of a sudden exodus of capital, with the chain reaction of bankruptcies and crisis.

Luxemburg is proud of its political and economic stability. Unemployment is minimal, inflation tolerable and finances are in order. "It is an advantage to be a very small country," an official remarked, outlining the theory of what he called the "Luxemburg model." During the crisis, he went on, representatives of ARBED, the government and trade unions jointly tackled problems of modernizing production and reducing staffs. Undeniably, there is room for social manoeuvre in the country. But the situation is far from idyllic. Even according to official statistics every fifth person in the country does not earn enough. Unemployment allowances are terminated after 18 months. But although small, unemployment is always present.

We are a peaceful nation

Luxemburg is small (it has an area of 2,586 sq. km. and a population of about 370,000), but it has a conspicuous place in international life. It plays a substantial role in the system of Western alliances and is active in strengthening NATO's infrastructure. Its territory is increasingly being used for military exercises. The local press says that Findel airport has been modernized to receive heavy transport planes used to fly troops from the United States to Europe.

One cannot fail to see, however, that the Grand Duchy wants to "balance" its foreign policy by expanding and strengthening ties with the Soviet Union. "We appreciate the friendly feelings of Soviet people and reciprocate them," president of the Chamber of Deputies, Léon Bollendorff, told us. "We support all measures in defence of peace and are prepared to do all we can to preserve it. We emphatically reject war as an instrument of policy. We are a peaceful nation and believe that new thinking is now needed."

Indeed, our good-neighbourliness has deep roots. In its struggle for independence and sovereignty Luxemburg relied on Russia's support. The rout of Napoleon's armies in 1812 and the liberation campaign of the Russian troops in Western Europe created the preconditions for restoring Luxemburg's independence. Russian diplomacy played an important role in the drafting and signing of the London Treaty of 1867 which proclaimed Luxemburg a sovereign and neutral state. That same year Russia undertook to protect its interests abroad.

There are no outstanding issues or unresolved problems between our peoples to prevent them basing their relations on equality and mutually advantageous cooperation. Tangible results have been achieved in the fifty years of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Luxemburg. Political contacts are being maintained and parliamentary exchanges have become regular. Business ties are being kept up. The U.S.S.R. supplies Luxemburg with ferroalloys, sawn timber and some other commodities and imports equipment for the metallurgical, automobile and chemical industries, cord fabric, truck tyres and copper foil. Our cooperation with ARBED is fruitful.

Surrounded by its ancient walls and towers, the city is reminiscent of an unassailable fortress perched on a rock. But Luxemburg is not like that. Its people know how to appreciate the fresh air of peaceful contacts. The gates of the citadel are wide open.

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Art that lives forever

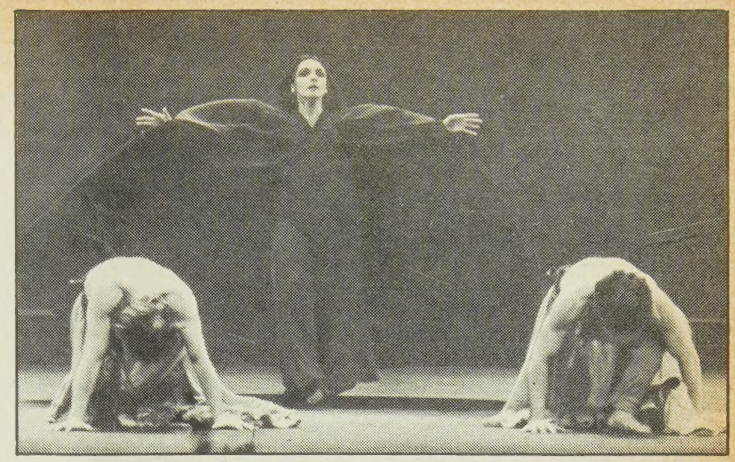
Composers and choreographers often incorporate elements of Spanish folk dances and music in classical ballet productions. Recall if only the works of Bizet, Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and Antonia Merce. But no one before the Royal National Ballet of Spain, founded in 1978, had ever ventured to stage an entire classical ballet based on Spanish dances.

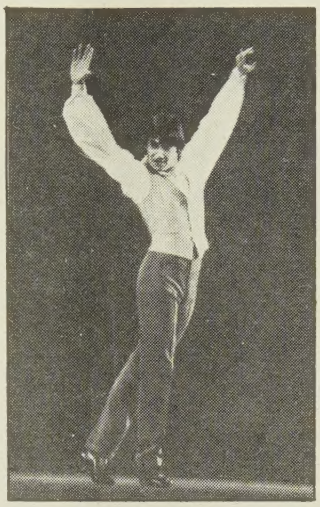
The troupe's work has imbibed the full flavour and charm of folk culture. The dances of the different provinces are reflected in it.

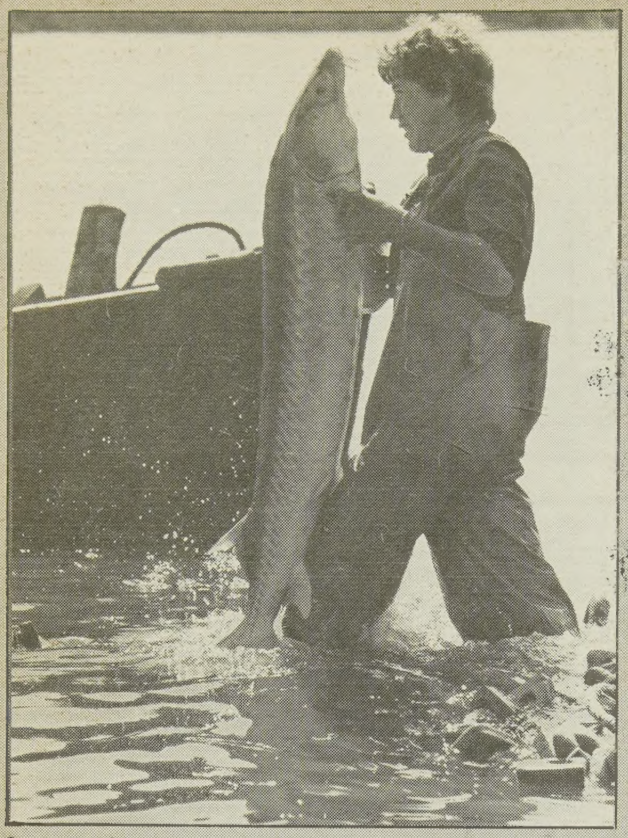
The directors of the troupe have changed several times in the years since it was first formed: Antonio Gades, Antonio Ruiz Soler, Maria de Avila (under whose direction the troupe gave guest performances in the U.S.S.R. in 1985). And now it is José Antonio, a 35-year-old dancer who took up ballet at the age of four.

His production is built on a pattern of steadily mounting tension. The "Rhythms," "Awakening" and "Flamenco" of the first act prepare us for the tragedy that unfolds in the "Medea" that follows. At first the staccato beat of the zapateado seems out of place in the classical Seneca play. But soon the expressiveness of the movements, the deep, underlying meaning of the dance compels the spectator to forget the unusual form, the costumes, the sets—all but the human drama, the drama of love.

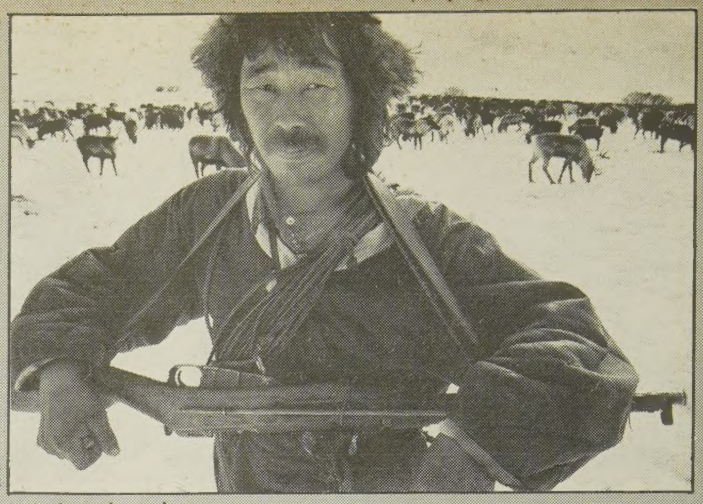
"There have always been and always will be things that are eternal and things that are transient," José Antonio says. "Folk art, in my opinion, undoubtedly belongs to the former category."







Some catch!



Reindeer breeder.

MAN AND MANKIND

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

Alexander Gushchin (U.S.S.R.)

At a village fête in the Ukraine.

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ